The Beaver

AUTUMN 1981

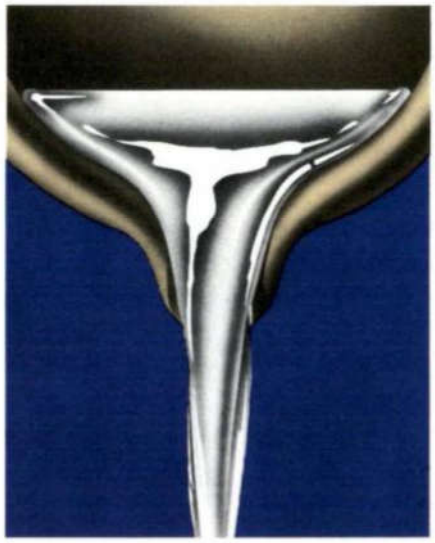
$2.25

ALUMINUM. THE GREAT ENERGY BANK.

Aluminum is really "recyclable energy." Once you've got it, you can recycle it for only 5% of what it first needed. And then recycle it again for only 5%. And again, and again.

It's like an energy bank.

It also saves energy in transportation – in aircraft, subway cars, transport trucks, automobiles – wherever less weight saves energy. And in an energy-short world, this makes aluminum a very precious metal.



That's why Alcan® is investing over a billion dollars this year alone in capital expenditures on a worldwide basis. It's also why Alcan now invests over $50 million worldwide on the research and development of energy-saving aluminum.

But underlying this investment in aluminum and its role in tomorrow's world is another commitment. It is to grow within good environmental conditions through modern technology. Because Alcan, as President David Culver has reported to its shareholders, has this pledge to our country:

"As a Canadian-based multinational, a deep concern must be to reflect credit upon our home country – and our home provinces – and to earn the right to be considered one of their most valued, and valuable institutions."

ALCAN®

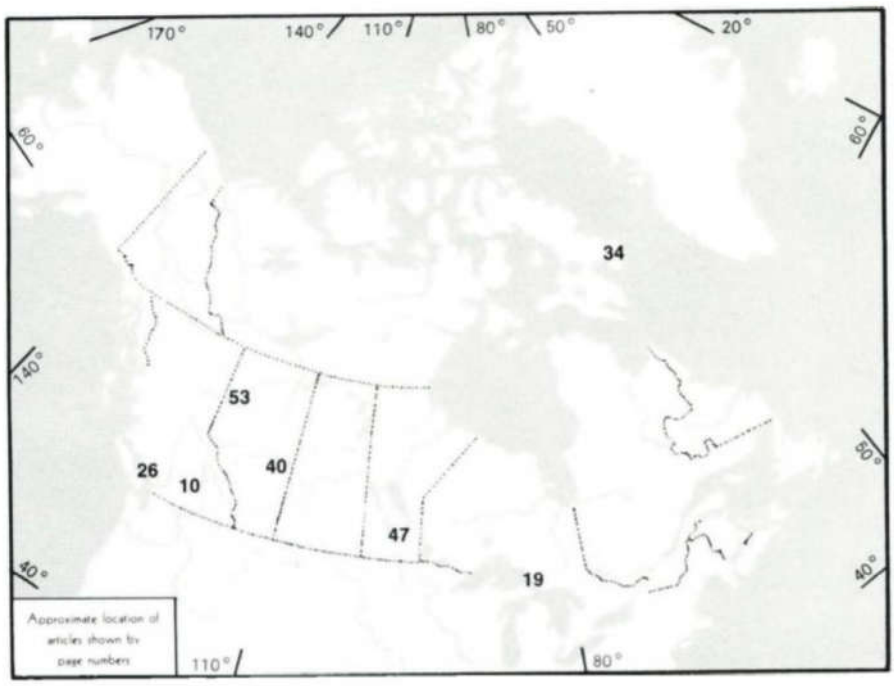
THINK WHAT WE CAN DO FOR YOU.

AUTUMN 1981
OUTFIT 312:2
$2.25

The Beaver

MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

Editor: Helen Burgess



CONTENTS

'NIRKIT': GOOD FOOD 2
Marjorie Schurman

LORD AND LADY ABERDEEN: Their Okanagan Ranches 10
Doris Shackleton

COMMERCE, CIVILITY AND OLD SAULT STE MARIE 19
Graham A. MacDonald

PACIFIC LAGOON AFTERNOON 26
Tim Fitzharris

34 THE PANGNIRTUNG TAPESTRIES
Charlotte and Edward Lindgren

40 SCHOOL DAYS AT WILLOW BROOK
Evelyn Slater McLeod

47 THE REVEREND DAVID JONES: Missionary at Red River 1823-38
Thomas F. Bredin

53 FORT DUNVEGAN
Eric J. Holmgren

60 BOOK REVIEWS

COVER: 'Algoma Country', by Lawren Harris, 1920-21. Oil on canvas, 40 1/2" x 50 3/16". From the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE
77 MAIN ST.

Hudson's Bay Company

WINNIPEG, CANADA
R3C 2R1

Published by The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, known as the Hudson's Bay Company. The interests of THE BEAVER cover the territory with which the Company has been or is now associated. Annual subscription $8: 3 years, $24. Single Copy $2.25. In the United States and other countries annual subscription $9: 3 years, $27. While every care will be taken of manuscripts and illustrations submitted, no liability will be assumed for loss. Contents copyright. Printed in Canada.

Second class mail registration number 1401. Postage paid at Winnipeg.

1981 Hudson's Bay Company

ISSN 0005-7517

'Nirkit': Good Food

By Marjorie Schurman

The author, a graduate of the University of Toronto with the degree of Master of Health Science (Community Nutrition), is head of the HBC nutrition program.

EATING IS ONE of life's great pleasures and an important way of communicating with people. This fact is as true in Canada's North as it is anywhere else. If you visit Rose Okpik, an Inuit housewife on east Baffin Island, for example, you will probably be treated to strong hot tea, nutritious raisin bannock and the warmth and vitality of her personality. If you visit Rosie Veevee, you might sample a wonderful caribou stew. If you have dinner at Cora Gunn's, you would probably have an appetizer of celery and cheese, and then baked Arctic char.

These three women live in Pangnirtung — the place of the big bull caribou — a settlement of spectacular mountains, high winds and beautiful fiords, just below the Arctic Circle on Baffin Island in Canada's Northwest Territories. All three have been involved with food and nutrition education in the community: Rose Okpik as a group leader of the nutrition project which was sponsored by the Pangnirtung health committee; Rosie Veevee as one of the main leaders of the nutrition project and a member of the education committee; and Cora through an early association with a nutritionist in her home community of Cape Dorset and through her husband Jack Gunn, manager of the Hudson's Bay Company store at Pangnirtung.

Pangnirtung has had two specific community nutrition projects over the past several years. The first resulted from Rose Okpik's involvement as the Pangnirtung representative in a nutrition conference at Baker Lake in 1977. These meetings included formal discussions and practical workshops for community health representatives (who act as liaison between nurses and their own communities); doctors, nurses, nutritionists, health educators and game management officers. The motivation for the conference was some very real concerns about Inuit health.

Traditionally, the Inuit had good food habits. They knew the importance of meat to the body's strength, shown by the fact that the word for 'meat' (*nirkit*) also is the word for 'food'. Similarly, the need for a word to describe the choosing of a healthy diet did not exist; there was no other diet and therefore no word in Inuktitut for 'nutrition'. New words such as this one have to be developed by ongoing committees on the Inuit language.

As with other traditional hunting and gathering societies, the foods available were relatively unchanging over time. Thus, food habits were also essentially unchanging and could be passed on from generation to generation. When hunting was good there would

Tadda

In earlier generations the Inuit satisfied their need for calcium by chewing on the soft ends of bones. Milk and milk products are now supplying an increasing amount of calcium.

An Inuit hunter prepares a meal of caribou meat on the trail, c. 1950.

During the winter months, the Inuit ate at least part of their meat and fish raw. They knew that this prevented loose teeth and bleeding gums in the spring.

likely be a pot of caribou stew (meat and some dried plants) available. In the winter the food was kept frozen either outside on the roof or cached beneath rocks for storage. Fish, caribou and plants were dried during summer for a long winter. Meals were unscheduled. The Inuit ate when they were hungry, provided food was available.

The Inuit knew that anything that took away hunger also built the body and strength. They knew that using the whole animal (with certain exceptions such as the big seal called 'Oguk' and the polar bear, the livers of which are toxic) made good sense both in a practical and non-wasteful way and in a healthy way, since the internal organs were also sources of strength and protection from infection.

Many of the traditional food habits which were developed over centuries can be shown to be nutritionally sound, according to Dr Otto Schaefer who has studied nutrition among the Inuit and Indian populations for 20 years. 'Seal meat and seal liver compared to beef meat and beef liver were found to be richer sources for a number of elements . . . but particularly iron' — the mineral for good red blood. The chewing of the soft ends of bones provided calcium that was readily available to build and strengthen bones and teeth. The eating of the marrow

D. B. Marsh

inside the bones provided iron, while liver and other organ meats supplied much Vitamin A, various B vitamins and iron. Raw meat over the winter months provided sufficient Vitamin C to prevent scurvy, with its symptoms of loose teeth and bleeding gums, in the spring.

Schaefer also points to the traditional use of plant materials as health practices. 'The Inuit used whenever available, whatever vegetable matter was available . . . such as berries, herbs, willow buds, some roots and the predigested reindeer moss and other herbs from the stomachs of caribou, arctic hare and ptarmigan. Seaweed was regularly collected by women and children even in midwinter in those areas in the Eastern Arctic where high tides exposed them.' The minerals and vitamins of these plant materials provided protection against infection.

Today, the Inuit find themselves in transition of food sources and food habits. Many people are choosing wage employment and are hunting or fishing only on weekends. Many of the traditional foods such as organ meats are being abandoned by the younger generation who are influenced by what Dr Schaefer calls our 'steak culture'. At the same time more foods are being purchased from the store. (A particular favourite in Coral Harbour is pizza.)

However, caribou and char are still major food sources, are seen as good food, and are preferred. An Inuk complaining of stomach upset was asked by the nurse when he had eaten. He replied that he had had no food for two days. On further questioning the nurse learned that while the person had eaten store foods (including fresh fruit and perhaps too much of it at one time) he had had no caribou or char for two days. Therefore he had eaten no 'food'.

One of the difficulties of the changes in food habits is that while one proven method is dropped, a new but also proven way is not adopted. The northern tradition of chewing on the spongeous ends of bones has all but been abandoned, but the southern pattern of consumption of milk or milk products has not yet been fully adopted.

Schaefer says that 'the effects of such drastic changes in nutritional habits in children and adults were manifold'. He specifically cites problems of dental caries, acne, obesity, vitamin deficiencies (including Vitamin A, Vitamin C, folate and Vitamin D) and iron and calcium deficiencies. These health problems were in part identified in the early 1970s through Nutrition Canada — an extensive Canada-wide survey including anthropometric, clinical and biochemical assays of nutrition status — and continue to be explored by Schaefer through the Northern Medical Research Unit of the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta.

Thus there were many issues to be discussed by the

Marjorie Schurman

Food items on the shelves of The Bay store in Cambridge Bay are displayed with coloured markers to indicate their contribution to a well-balanced diet.

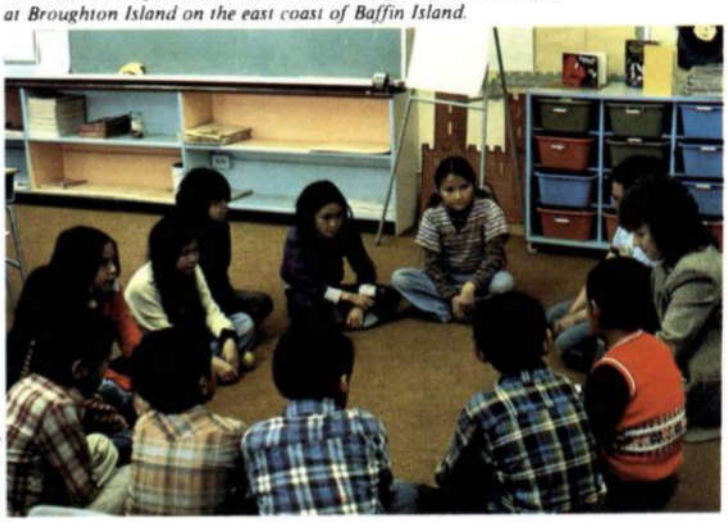
concerned people at the Baker Lake meetings.

One of the major conclusions reached by the participants was that Inuit needed more information to make their own decisions with respect to the new foods. Henry Isluanik, the community health representative from Eskimo Point, says: 'In choosing food, if the people knew it was meat, they bought it. If they didn't know what it was they would buy it and try it, sometimes you would like it, sometimes you would not. . . . Sometimes things were quite different from what you thought they were and you made a big mistake. . . . Sometimes if the colours on the package were pretty, I would try the food.'

During the four-day conference the idea of displaying information in the store at Baker Lake arose. Several community health representatives and Hope Spencer, the Medical Services Branch Health Educator, approached Bay Manager Mike Hughson for his co-operation. They easily received it. Says Hughson, 'The staff were very enthusiastic. We were willing to try.' And with that, food-package mobiles to demonstrate a balanced diet, and informative posters appeared in the store during the conference. Hughson says that once people realized that the information was for them, they appreciated it and learned from it.

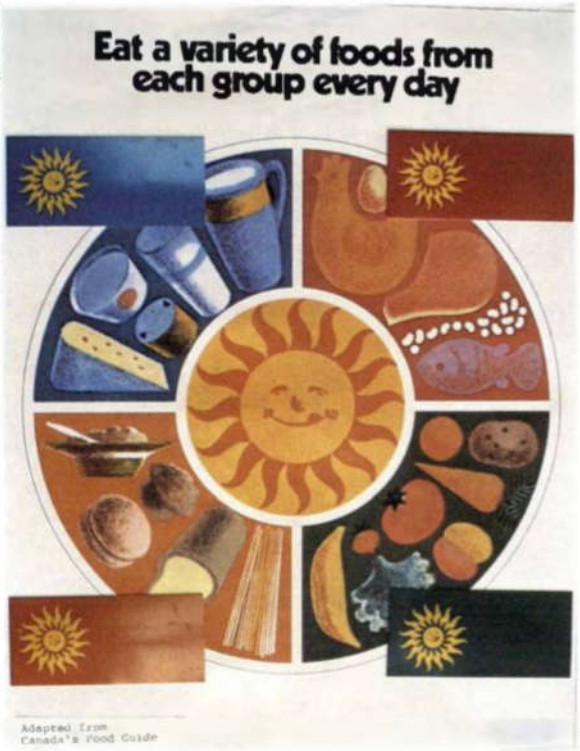
The conference participants also made a number of recommendations on the two issues of education and food availability. It was suggested that traditional game and fish could be provided for those who could no longer hunt because of paid employment or illness or lack of equipment. Its distribution, it was proposed, could be worked out in co-operation with the hunters and the local store.

Nutritionist Marjorie Schurman talks about good foods to a class at Broughton Island on the east coast of Baffin Island.



Dawn Loney

Bryan Belfont



A colour guide to a balanced diet, adapted from Canada's Food Guide, helps Inuit to choose foods from each group.

To educate the Inuit about the value of new and unfamiliar foods it was recommended that information be made available in the local store in the form of displays and a colour coding system for foods based on Canada's Food Guide. This information was adapted to include traditional foods as well and had been used previously by Ann Sparham, nutritionist with Medical Services for the Northwest Territories. Foods are classified and grouped on the basis of their function for the body. For easy identification, colours are associated with each food group as follows:

Red is for meat and meat substitutes, including poultry, fish, eggs, legumes, nuts and traditional game animals.

Blue is for milk and milk products, including cheese, yogurt (but not butter) and also fish and animal bones.

Green is for fruits, vegetables and their juices.

Orange is for bannock, bread and cereals.

George Hunter

The Pangnirtung store in 1978, the year when the nutrition program was launched. Over the year of the project, sales of vitamin-fortified fruit juice increased by 75 per cent.

The information clarifies the fact that only a daily combination of foods from each of these four food groups would provide for all the body's needs.

It was on the education side that Pangnirtung became most active. Rose Okpik brought the idea back home and went to work. She worked with Carol Huggett, nutritionist for the Baffin Zone with Health and Welfare (Medical Services Branch); with Joanne Patterson, the Northwest Territories Department of Education's Home Management Consultant for the Baffin Region; with Jon Benz, the Bay Manager in Pangnirtung, and with the community.

The result was a one-year federally funded project on nutrition education which used many approaches to teach about good foods. In the school, there were lessons, activities and tasting parties for the children. In the homes, there were teaching visits and cooking classes by the nutrition committee and in the Adult Education Centre there were more classes.

Colour coding of foods in the store on the basis of their nutritional value made its first major, but by no means its last, appearance in Pangnirtung. The women made attractive felt banners to explain the food groups and their associated colours, hung them in the store and placed coloured markers on the shelves. The manager worked with the community, made preferred foods available and displayed them prominently.

Results of the 'Pangnirtung Project' are impressive. According to Ann Sparham, the soft drink sales in Pangnirtung decreased by fifty per cent over the year of the project (1978-79) while the juice sales increased by seventy-five per cent. The other major result is that the project sparked a number of similar community-activated projects including one at Hall Beach, and the subsequent ten-week concentrated project in Pangnirtung in the spring of 1981.

This second Pangnirtung project was sponsored through the Department of Education. Mary Ellen Thomas, in charge of the adult education program, was very much involved with the other women in the community. Again classes were held to explain about good foods and again colour coding was implemented in the store. This time The Bay provided a number of resources through its nutrition upgrading program: a program which had started around the time of the Baker Lake meetings.

At the same time as preparations for the Baker Lake Conference were being made, the Hudson's Bay Company was becoming aware of the need for consumer education. The Bay management decided that further service in the form of consumer

Richard Harrington

Lucy in Povungnituk uses lard to prepare bannock, c. 1960. In earlier decades bannock was eaten with seal fat, rich in Vitamin A; this vitamin is supplied today by fortified margarine or butter.

Calcium fortified flour.

Marjorie Schurman

education for nutrition information could be provided through co-operation with the stores. Since the Company is a crucial supplier of food and dry goods in the North (often the only food store in a community), Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Richardson recognized the influential role that the stores could play in encouraging positive changes in nutrition. He therefore instituted the position of nutritionist to formulate a nutrition education program for all remote native communities served by The Bay.

Carol Pass, as the first Hudson's Bay Company nutritionist, worked with Mike Hughson in Baker Lake to try out the colour coding and a set of posters designed by Inuit artist Alootook Ipellie, formerly of Frobisher Bay. From that beginning a number of other communities in the Central and Eastern Arctic successfully tried the colour-coding approach to nutrition education. There were films, in-store displays, new product sampling and radio programs. Attention was paid not only to ensuring a good selection of basic foods but also to improving basic products. One of these was lard, which had replaced seal fat (rich in Vitamin A) as a popular spread for bread and bannock. A short-term trial of lard fortified with Vitamin A was worked out at Arctic Bay in collaboration with Dr Schaefer. While this project is still at the research stage, action has been taken to fortify flour with calcium. Packed under The Bay label, this flour replaces the calcium that once was provided by the practice of chewing bones. Sausages made of seal meat and other fast foods made from whale and walrus are the subject of experiments at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax. If a panel of Inuit students decide they like the seal sausages and the other adaptations of northern foods, Marilyn McDowell, head of the project, hopes they will be packaged to compete with less nutritious convenience foods.

The Hudson's Bay Company's nutrition upgrading program is predicated on the provision of specific nutrition information so that consumers may make their own informed food choices and thus improve their nutrition and general health. By using the colour coding on the store shelves, they become more aware of the nutritional or health advantages of food and can, if they wish, choose a balanced diet.

The advantage of this approach is that the information is always available — on the shelves and on the food group posters. By being available at the time and the place that food decisions are being made, the information is accessible whenever a

Marjorie Schurman

Marcel Pronteau of Thicket Portage in Northern Manitoba, with his poster that won first prize during National Nutrition Week in March 1981.

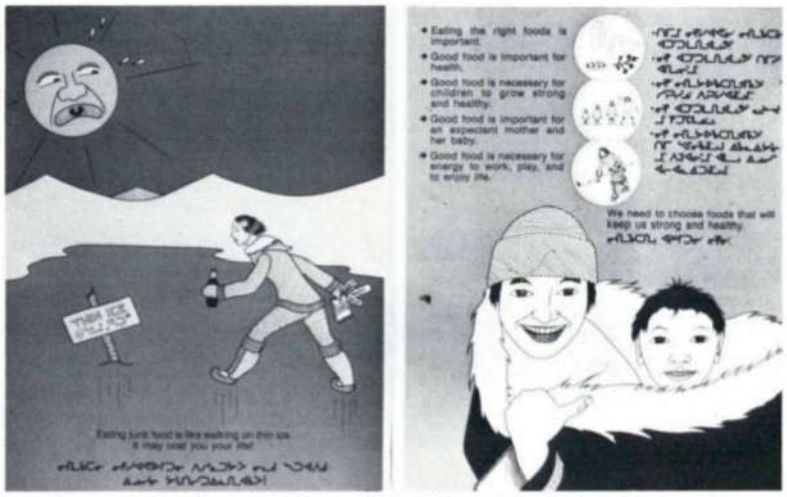
person is ready to learn. The new markers are designed to eliminate the difficulties of language and dialect by using the sun symbol and food group colours, while the posters are designed to make use of traditional foods and language. The posters have a selection of stick-on animals and translations to suit the traditions of the community. Thus, the posters can be made appropriate for Inuit communities with the inclusion of seal and caribou and the use of the Inuit language. When the program expands to the Indian communities in the northern areas of the provinces, muskrat, moose and beaver, and Indian translations will be used. The colour coding is being tried in the stores in Northern Manitoba this year.

Using the store information as focus, other community groups are encouraged to help people learn about good foods. A recent addition to the Company's nutrition program is the provision of information materials and suggestions to various groups (especially the health committee) or individuals in the community who already have an interest in health. A theme is provided each month through 'News from Nukilik' — a communication from the nutritionist to the people in the communities. 'Nukilik' which means 'one with strong muscles' is the name of the nutrition character who delivers messages to the children through radio announce-

Marjorie Schurman (left) with Viola Fast, nurse at Little Grand Rapids for Health and Welfare Canada.

Medical Services Branch, Health and Welfare Canada

Marjorie Schurman


Eating junk food is like walking on thin ice. It may cost you your life!
Eating the right foods is important.
Good food is important for health.
Good food is necessary for children to grow strong and healthy.
Good food is important for an expectant mother and her baby.
Good food is necessary for energy to work, play, and to enjoy life.
We need to choose foods that will keep us strong and healthy.

Nutrition posters by Alootook Ipellie are displayed in stores, schools and community centres.

ments, Nukilik balloons, public service television announcements and theme-related colouring sheets.

On regular tours of northern stores, the Company nutritionist arranges meetings with the community council and the health committee. Once the go-ahead has been received, then meetings with others such as the education committee, community health representatives and nurses, teachers, the adult educator, and women's groups are arranged. Often the explaining is done by the nutritionist and a translator, using the local radio station (which has a radius of about 10 miles) either for a phone-in show or to read a prepared text about good health and good food choices.

To date, some 23 Inuit communities take part in the Hudson's Bay Company's nutrition upgrading program which performs a co-ordinating role at the point of purchase and in the larger sense, with the various groups or individuals in the specific community, and with the groups across the Northwest Territories, including both federal and territorial governments. But, as Rose Okpik cautions — one does have to be careful 'not to confuse my people'. The necessity of a consistent nutrition message cannot be understated. Participation by the nutritionist on the Northwest Territories Nutrition Liaison Committee; and contact with Department of Education, Department of Health, Medical Services, and the Native Women's Association of the Northwest Territories has provided resources and mutual support for the many other programs operating in the North and has ensured co-ordination and a consistent message.

Over the summer of 1981, eleven Indian communities in Northern Manitoba used colour coding, posters and theme-based information packages. These were provided for a community-based program conducted by local high school students and sponsored by the Medical Services Branch of Health and Welfare Canada. Traditional foods such as moose, muskrat, beaver, goose and bannock all received their due share of promotion along with ideas on how to incorporate foods such as fruits and vegetables with these traditional foods. People like Gail Marchessault, the nutritionist for Medical Services Branch, Manitoba Region, liked the approach and the potential for further co-operation with The Bay, community health representatives and the various federal and provincial agencies.

Further plans for the Bay's nutrition program include expansion of the colour coding to eventually include all the Bay's food stores in remote native communities across Canada. There is a constant search for opportunities to improve products, such has been done with flour, and to increase the visibility and availability of good food items in prominent places within the store to encourage children to eat well. More public service announcements for television and radio broadcasts and promotional videotapes which could be used within the stores are planned.

In addition to the visibility of the nutrition information and the availability of good foods, the Bay's nutrition program offers a continuity that is not always easy or possible in the North. While the various and many people come, present their ideas and leave, the Inuit and the Indian people and The Bay remain. ◆

Haddo House Collection

The house at Guisachan, on the first property purchased in the Okanagan Valley. The guests are gathered for a paper chase, 1905.

Lord and Lady Aberdeen: Their Okanagan Ranches

By Doris Shackleton

The author bases her article on Lady Aberdeen's journals now in the Public Archives of Canada. Letters, including those that deal with the threatened lawsuit and Forbes George Vernon, are with the family records at Haddo House, Aberdeenshire.

Doris Shackleton of Ottawa has written four books and numerous articles and short stories. She is now engaged in writing a history of the Victorian Order of Nurses.

IN THE DAYS when Governors-General were assigned to Canada by the British Crown, few occupants of Rideau Hall invested much time or fortune in Canada beyond their brief five-year official round. But the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen, who served a viceregal term from 1893 to 1898, were well acquainted with Canada even before their arrival in Ottawa. They had travelled twice to the West Coast, and they were 'homesteaders' on a large scale in the British Columbia interior.

John Campbell Gordon, the Earl of Aberdeen, at one time owned well over 14,000 acres of land in two separate sites in the Okanagan Valley. He styled himself a 'rancher', but fruit-growing was part of his calculations from the beginning. Before his time orchards had been experimental and limited to a few enterprising farmers who hoped to sell produce to the mining camps. The Aberdeen development opened the way to the irrigation of the vast cultivated lands that now bring world renown to this fertile valley.

The benefits to the Okanagan and to Canada were considerable. But to the Governor-General personally, the pioneer venture was unfortunately a financial embarrassment from beginning to end. Year after year he drained capital from his ancestral estate in north-east Scotland, to the horror of his Edinburgh lawyer, who could only shake his head and warn his Lordship to be less philanthropic and a little more hard-headed.

The acquisition of the property and the many happy visits there by the Aberdeens and their children are recounted in Lady Aberdeen's lively journals, now in the Public Archives of Canada. Exchanges of letters, including a threatened lawsuit with Forbes George Vernon who sold them the larger ranch, have been kept among family records at Haddo House, Aberdeenshire.

Lord and Lady Aberdeen first came to Canada in the late summer of 1890, ostensibly to provide Lady Ishbel with a period of convalescence after a bout of ill health, although she was much too energetic a woman to take her ease for very long. After a month in Hamilton with their young family and entourage of servants, the Earl and Countess set off to explore the West. One of their purposes was to see how immigrants to Manitoba, assisted under a scheme in which Aberdeen was involved, were faring in their new homes.

In Montreal they had met Sir Donald A. Smith, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in which Lady Ishbel's father, Sir Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, owned a principal block of shares. Smith lent them his private railroad car for their journey. 'The lap of luxury . . . fitted with white mahogany,' Lady Ishbel wrote, though having a well-developed social conscience she could not help comparing their elegant car to the immigrant coaches on the same train,

Studio Morgan, Aberdeen

Haddo House, the eighteenth-century home of the Earl of Aberdeen, near Aberdeen, Scotland.

Public Archives of Canada

His Excellency, the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada from 1893 to 1898, with his family. Lady Marjorie (seated) and Archie (standing, right) enjoyed relaxed vacations each autumn with their parents at Coldstream Ranch.

where stoic families made do with their own mattresses and provisions. At Winnipeg they stayed at Silver Heights, Sir Donald's farm with its prized buffalo herd, a distance from the little city which to Lady Ishbel appeared 'not much yet. . . . The houses are sort of scattered pell mell as if you had thrown them down in a handful, a big one and then a little old log hut by the side of it, and then a store and so on and of course weeds everywhere.' On her next cross-country trip she made a point of shopping at the Hudson's Bay Company store, only to be disappointed on finding it not at all exotic, but a 'mere drygoods store'.

There at Winnipeg they were surprised by a visit from Lady Ishbel's younger brother, Coutts Marjoribanks, who had been established on a ranch in North Dakota but was not prospering in that location. Lady Aberdeen immediately made plans to rescue him from the American milieu, which she believed to be quite immoral, and set him up on a Canadian estate in good British surroundings. Her husband, also, was expressing a whimsical desire for a 'shanty' in Canada, and so it was with an eye out for suitable real estate that they travelled further west, through the breath-taking Rockies and down to the lush, lovely, progressive settlement of Vancouver.

A face from home was always welcome and in Vancouver the Aberdeens received a visit from George Grant Mackay, a road engineer and man of business, who had been a trusted agent for Lady Ishbel's father at his Inverness-shire estate, 'Guisachan'. Mackay was bursting with enthusiastic plans. He had his eye on a piece of property on Lake Okanagan where, he swore, there was 'even better' farm land than in the Fraser Valley. The railway would soon be coming through to the head of the lake, to a place called Vernon, and would swing south, he said, to Mission, founded by the Oblate Father Pondosy (near present-day Kelowna). A wonderful opportunity existed near Mission to buy for $10,000 a farm of 480 acres, on 'a splendid plateau . . . with a nice house, some 70 head of cattle, horses, wheat, implements etc. . . . in a few years it would sell for double if not four times its present value.'

Mackay's enthusiasm was contagious, and who would not trust a fellow Scot? Coutts Marjoribanks could live at the farm as manager, working off his equity and in two years' time 'become partners with A. [Lord Aberdeen] and they will divide the profits.' So wrote Lady Ishbel, brimming with confidence.

Aberdeen commissioned Mackay to buy the property forthwith and set off for home. Mackay was by no means disinterested. He himself took up adjacent land and, convinced that the railway would soon arrive along the lakeshore and that having an earl as a neighbour would do wonders for land values, staked out a townsite called Benvoulin.

Haddo House Collection

The Honourable Coutts Marjoribanks, brother of Lady Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen, with the manager of his North Dakota Ranch.

Benvoulin Road, all that remains of this paper scheme, runs along the eastern edge of modern Kelowna.

The 'ranch' the Aberdeens had purchased, sight unseen, was promptly christened Guisachan after Lady Ishbel's much-loved Highland home. Since this meant 'place of the firs' in Gaelic, firs there must be, but the imported seedlings withered and perished in that dry valley. They were replaced by Ontario arbor vitae to form two dense hedges bordering the driveway.

Crops would prove as disappointing as the Scottish firs. The Okanagan did not share the climate of the mild, rain-drenched coastal region. The Aberdeens had become owners of an untended and infertile piece of land, two miles from the lake and without water rights. It had belonged to a mixed-blood trader, McDougall, who first put up a log cabin to serve as a fur-trade post, and later built a frame house and raised a few cattle and horses.

Coutts Marjoribanks moved in the following winter. By spring his main concern was to build a new house. He wrote Lord Aberdeen in April 1891 that he had bought lumber; the old house was too small, and it seemed the only way to be rid of the innumerable

bedbugs was to move out. He had sold off the cattle at $20 a head, as 'we would not have had enough hay for them next winter without buying.' It was not an auspicious start.

In the fall of 1891 the Aberdeens travelled to North America again, to visit the United States and to inspect their British Columbia property. With them was their eleven-year-old daughter, Marjorie; a maid and a manservant. From the East the Canadian Pacific Railway carried them as far as Sicamous. There they faced the problem of getting over a brand-new stretch of track to Vernon. Lord Aberdeen managed to charter an engine and have a train assembled, hauling their private car and a caboose overflowing with men, dogs, machinery and packages. They reached Vernon in time to open the town's first agricultural exhibition. Vernon was distinguished chiefly by its five hotels and hospitable bars, but it was the size of its prize-winning cabbages that impressed the Aberdeens. They were eager to do their part to 'boost' the new community.

Coutts Marjoribanks had met them and accompanied them to the fair. Then it was a late start homeward, thirty miles down Lake Okanagan, and they had missed the last steamboat. Marjoribanks ran into a neighbour, Eli Lequime, proprietor of a rough hotel and store at the landing stage at Mission, and Lequime was persuaded to take the party to their destination in his small boat. So they set off through the jet-black night on a four-hour boat trip, imperturbably viewing it all as a splendid adventure. Marjorie recalled in a letter to the Okanagan Historical Society in 1954, 'My mother and uncle were in deep discussion over apples while my father and I made the night ring with a selection of songs.'

Lequime landed them and provided a wagon to convey their luggage to the farm before he turned back to Vernon. The Aberdeens piled luggage and servants into the wagon, but chose to walk the final two miles to the house. They roused a startled foreman who appeared at the door with a rifle. Undaunted, Lady Aberdeen wrote home: 'A warm reception, was it not? The Chinese cook, "Foo" was soon stirred up. . . .

'The hall of the house is especially pretty with a sort of gold Japanese paper and stag's horns. There is a large sitting-room and dining-room, four good bedrooms, two small ones, an office, and the kitchen just across a verandah, and a verandah running right around the house. It is just perfect and everything is delightful.'

Behind the gold wallpaper, as later occupants discovered incredulously, there was only one layer of mesh cloth laid on the outside framework. The house had seven chimneys and stoves in every room, but those within were still chilled to the bone in winter. The builders of the new house had not concerned themselves with explaining the rigours of winter to Mr Marjoribanks.

Still the euphoria of these new landholders was hard to dispel. The crop that year consisted of a small vegetable patch and 'one beautiful tree full of apples'. Lady Ishbel, on this evidence, wrote home triumphantly, 'So please calculate what 200 acres planted with apple trees will bring in! Not that we mean to satisfy ourselves only with apples. Pears, plums, cherries, and then all the small fruits which will bear the second year and so save much waiting!' Her husband went one step further. He resolved to build a jam factory 'much to the delight of all the people about, for this is just what is wanted. Now please rack your heads for good names and advertisements wherewith to compete with "Crosse and Blackwell"!'

Marjorie was taken on a bear hunt; the parents walked and made plans, and Lady Ishbel reported that the whole party had never enjoyed such excellent health, without so much as a headache. On Sunday a service was held in the schoolhouse. (The following year the Aberdeens built a charming little frame Presbyterian church which still stands, minus its steeple and converted to other uses.) There were only three women in attendance that Sunday, along with Lady Ishbel and Marjorie. The eldest, Mrs Postill, had lived in the area for 17 years: 'a dear old Yorkshire lady who prides herself on being the same age as the Queen . . . an enchanting figure in her old satin poke bonnet which she must surely have inherited from her grandmother,' Lady Ishbel wrote.

Before they left they drove through miles of bush to visit the Postill farm, and were served 'home-made bread, home-made jam and home-cured ham.' Harry Barnes, one of the farm workers, later recalled the slim, delicate form of the Scottish lord, while Lady Aberdeen 'was built on more generous lines'. Little Mrs Postill chided Lord Aberdeen. 'If he would eat more oatmeal porridge and do less tea drinking he would be a better figure of a man.'

From Guisachan the Aberdeens travelled to Vancouver, and again met the ever-ambitious George Mackay. This time he steered them toward a much vaster purchase, on the outskirts of Vernon. It was a 13,000-acre tract owned by Forbes George Vernon, mostly bush but it did have access to water and it ran 2,000 head of cattle.

Irish-born, Vernon had come into the area with his brother Charles and a partner, Captain Houghton, in 1863. Houghton acquired 14,000 acres as a military land grant; it was bought out by the Vernons a few years later. Mining had been the first attraction, but the purchase of the large acreage signalled a switch to cattle ranching. Forbes Vernon had formed the railway company that connected Vernon with the Canadian Pacific Railway at Sicamous.

The house on the Coldstream Ranch, from a snapshot taken by Lady Aberdeen.

Haddo House Collection

Forbes George Vernon in the uniform of Agent General to Britain for British Columbia.

Provincial Archives of British Columbia

But by 1891 Vernon had other interests. He had become Minister of Lands and Works in the young provincial government at Victoria. (In 1894 he received the grand position, complete with uniform, of British Columbia Agent General to Britain, a position that was abolished in 1898.) Forbes saw golden opportunities for investment in booming Victoria. He was therefore open to an offer from George Mackay to sell the Coldstream cattle ranch to the Aberdeens for £50,000. A pound in those days was worth $4.40.

George Mackay, it was discovered later, received commissions from both Vernon and Aberdeen for this transaction. He also, again, had his own land interests in the area. The deal was made most casually, without a proper inventory, to the subsequent horror of Aberdeen's Edinburgh lawyer, George Jamieson. On their return trip through Calgary, Aberdeen received a telegram from Mackay informing him that he was now the owner of 'the finest ranche in British Columbia'.

Lady Ishbel recorded some misgivings in her journal: 'I rather dread Mr Jamieson, but the die is cast . . . 400 steers and 100 cows now ready for market which will bring in £3000 or £4000 immediately . . .' But it was not to be.

The Aberdeens' plan, encouraged by Mackay who

had set up a land company of his own at Vernon, was gradually to abandon cattle ranching and introduce fruit, selling off some lots for small fruit farms to 'the right sort of people'. In fact a large number of Old Country families did move into the area over the next few years, and stayed to survive discouraging returns during a brief period of general economic depression. The 'die was cast', and the great fruit-growing industry had been launched.

During the summer of 1892 a comedy of errors unfolded as Lord Aberdeen pressed on with premature plans to build a jam factory. Mackay persuaded him to choose a site in Vernon near their new holdings. Tenders were called for in October and the building was finished the following March. Aberdeen meanwhile advertised in Scotland for a manager, without evoking much response. It seemed there were no Scottish fruit-factory managers prepared to take up such an uncertain challenge.

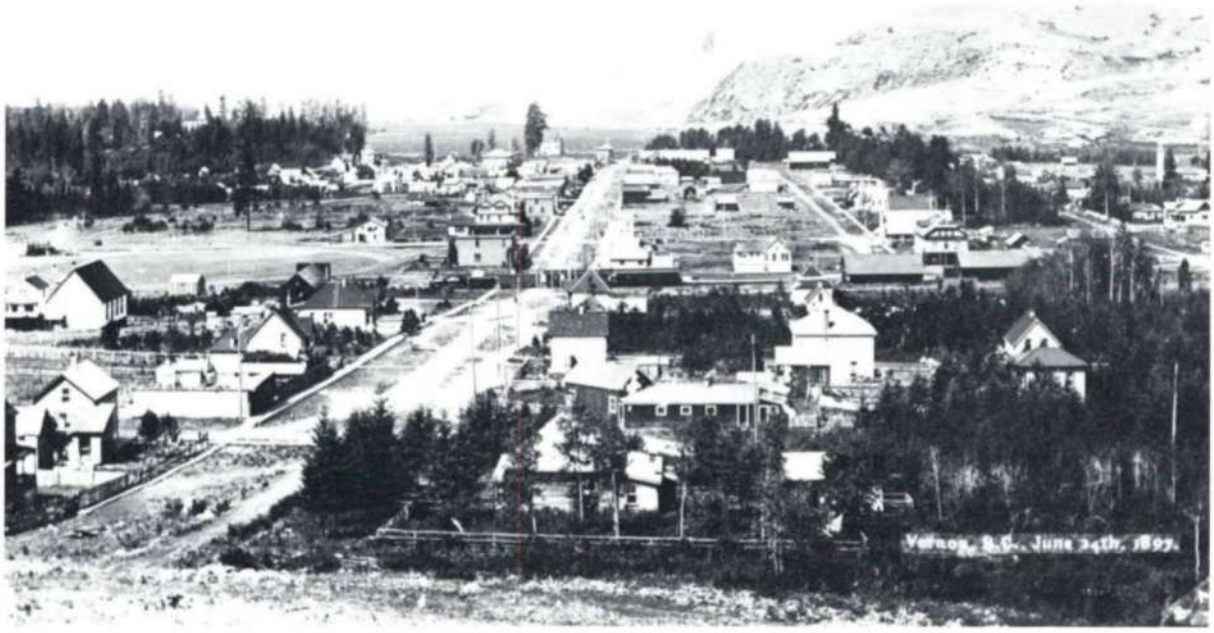
One of Aberdeen's ideas was to have the first products of the factory exhibited at the great Chicago World Fair of 1893, certainly an optimistic assessment of the potential productivity of the Okanagan. He hired one of the few applicants who answered his advertisement, an itinerant tradesman named Krauss who claimed to have managed fruit-processing plants in various countries and to be the sole owner of certain unique recipes for jams and jellies. Krauss offered to have some preserves done in Scotland, put an 'Okanagan Preserving Works' label on them, and ship them out through British Columbia to Chicago. Aberdeen was properly shocked, and carefully inserted in the agreement they subsequently signed that Krauss was to 'use none such named tricks of the trade'. But Krauss was taken on. His and his wife's passage was paid to the Okanagan where they were to receive $17.50 a week and a free furnished house, plus a share of the profits once production began. Almost immediately bills began coming in from Baker and Sons in England for a miscellany of pots, pans, knives, ladles and machinery ordered by Krauss to be shipped to Vernon.

Now the distraught lawyer, George Jamieson, felt it his duty to make a personal visit to the new estates and assess the damage to Aberdeen's fortune. He made a full report in November 1892. It began:

'I must not conceal from you that even at this stage the condition of matters is very critical — not only as regards financial although that is sufficiently alarming — but as regards the ultimate success or failure of an enterprise which has attracted such wide attention and interest.' The annual drain on Aberdeen's resources was running at £5,000 to £6,000 a year.

A total of $34,972 had been spent at Guisachan in

Vernon, B.C., 1897. By this date Lord Aberdeen's jam factory had been built, and used for an evening of musical entertainment.



Vernon Board of Museum & Archives

the first two years, including the planting of fruit trees and hops. The returns during that time had been $2,393. It would be several more years before any fruit crops could be expected. But what alarmed Mr Jamieson most was that, in the building of the house and in the salaries paid to workmen, the prevalent attitude was that Lord Aberdeen had 'boundless wealth' and was eager 'to spend money in the Okanagan for the "public benefit" — this means for the personal advantage of the few existing settlers.'

Jamieson also judged that the second purchase, the Coldstream Ranch at Vernon, had been vastly overpriced, and the number of cattle and their condition at time of sale was 'a great muddle'. He estimated that financing immediately required at the Coldstream Ranch was a hefty £64,785 — without including the jam factory. As for Krauss, Jamieson thought him an utter scoundrel and advised dismissing him at once. He found out that Krauss had pocketed $5,000 for a promise to the people at Mission for the expectation of having the factory built there instead of at Vernon.

Jamieson turned to George Mackay as the ablest man in sight and put him in charge of Aberdeen's interests, especially to deal with Krauss. In December Mackay sent a long letter to the lawyer saying, 'I dismissed Mr. Krauss last night . . . I was very glad to have been empowered to get rid of this man.' Krauss had been busy purchasing linens and furniture for his free house, and running up a fine hotel bill in the meantime. His latest purchase, charged to Aberdeen, had been a horse, which he hired out to a stranger to ride to Kamloops; predictably the stranger sold the horse at Kamloops and decamped with the money. Mrs Krauss had made an unscheduled visit to the ranch apparently to compromise its bachelor manager, though the overture had been stoutly resisted by Mr Marjoribanks. No one much regretted Krauss's departure.

The Aberdeens found a new administrator named Kelly for Coldstream and Guisachan, and conditions began to improve. The large herd of cattle at Coldstream was in poor condition after the winter. Many had died, and most of those sent to market in Vancouver were not accepted by the B.C. Cattle Company, causing a sharp loss in projected revenue. Kelly proceeded to cut down the herd, plant hops and fruit, and begin the huge job of irrigation that would mean the difference between success and failure in the orchards. He wrote optimistically to Jamieson: 'The fact of His Lordship having an estate in the Okanagan district has been the means of bringing people to Vernon who otherwise would never have heard of the place.'

The following year, 1893, Lord Aberdeen took up his appointment as Governor-General of Canada. The Aberdeens were extremely popular, and Lady Ishbel was widely known for her good works, including the founding of the National Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses. Now it was a matter of prestige to see to the proper management of the ranches. They were fortunate in the services of Mr Kelly, and later of W. C. Ricardo, who carried through the change-over to fruit production.

Jamieson had entered into correspondence with Forbes Vernon. The final payment for Coldstream Ranch was due. The lawyer raised questions about representations that had been made at the time the deal was made: '. . . hardly any of the cattle were fit for sale — no part of the £4000 was realized.' He added, 'Litigation is to be deprecated and avoided, but . . . I cannot but think that you will participate in the regret which I find is very general that Lord A.'s venture in B.C. should have turned out so unfortunately; and I am bound to say it has been *most* unfortunate.'

Vernon's reply was immediate and emphatic. *His* lawyers advised no delay in payment could be entertained, and there were threats of 'proceedings which would be as annoying to Your Lordship as they would be distasteful to myself'. Though Jamieson continued to think the price exorbitant he had to advise Aberdeen to take out a mortgage on other property and pay up. Vernon was still expressing his resentment at 'insinuations' and particularly at Jamieson's suggestion that there was a better 'moral climate' in Scotland than seemed to prevail in Canada.

Meanwhile the first little property, Guisachan, was proving a disappointment. The fruit trees were not flourishing in the long dry season; the soil seemed alkaline. The property was turned into a hog farm, with some other livestock. A manager lived in the pretty house with the encircling verandah, for Marjoribanks had built a new one at Coldstream.

Despite the harrassments and set-backs the Governor-General's enterprise was widely admired. The fruit orchards and hop yards spread over an expanding acreage and the first irrigation canals were in place. When the Canadian Pacific Railway put its first sternwheel steamer on Lake Okanagan in 1893 it was called the S.S. *Aberdeen*. Fired at first by wood, it had a gross tonnage of 554, and steamed majestically up and down the almost 70 miles of the lake, a vital link in the commerce of the valley.

It was not until the autumn of 1894 that Lord and Lady Aberdeen were able to leave their duties at Rideau Hall and travel west again. They shopped in Winnipeg at the Hudson's Bay store, seeming more impressed this time with the emporium and investing in a raccoon cap for their small son Archie, a black fur cap and muff for Marjorie, and a bear boa and muff for Lady Aberdeen.

They viewed for the first time their large ranch at Vernon. By this time Coutts Marjoribanks had

Public Archives of Canada

The Governor-General, the Earl of Aberdeen with Lady Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen.

The scene at Vernon station when the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen arrived with two of their children in 1894.

Vernon Board of Museum and Archives

returned to England, where he would live for a few years and would be married. But the Aberdeens with Marjorie and Archie, had a glorious ten-day holiday, revelling in the freedom of their private domain. Lady Ishbel wrote in her journal that it was an enormous relief to get away from Rideau Hall to a spot where 'one need not ask permission from the Government before moving a plank or ordering a plate or a duster'.

Hops were selling at only 13 cents a pound, but 'we have a fine new hop kiln' and hope for better prices, a hundred acres were planted to fruit, with cherries and plums doing 'magnificently'. The high cost of shipping to the coast was a burden, but everyone was confident of eventual success.

Indian pickers were brought in to harvest the hops, turning Coldstream for a season into a lively carnival with pony races and other festivities. The Aberdeens kept a store to provide the pickers with their needs and spare them from the high prices of the Vernon merchants. A page from the Coldstream ledger gives a crude but graphic description of the accounts with these employees:

Cultus Joe — Goods $3. Blankets $5	$8
Old Annie of Penticton — flour, sugar etc	3.20
Old Man with Fur Cap — flour	.25
Squilascum (a cripple) — flour	4.75
Alex (long legs)	5.40
Ellen (old woman) — tenting	1.00

Vernon Board of Museum and Archives

The first Canadian Pacific sternwheel steamer, named for the Earl of Aberdeen, began operation on Lake Okanagan in 1893.

Photograph by Mel Chapman, Kelowna.

The ranch house Guisachan at Kelowna, B.C., and its present owner, Paddy Cameron.

In each of the remaining years of their official stay in Canada, the Aberdeens stole away from Ottawa in the autumn to enjoy their British Columbia home. Lady Ishbel's journals record their successes, adventures and misadventures. In 1895 they invited Sir William Van Horne of the C P R to pay them a visit, with the practical motive of provisioning the railway with fresh produce.

On the day of his arrival Lord and Lady Aberdeen had gone to inspect Guisachan, and were bringing back some milk and butter for the Coldstream larder. After the steamer docked at Vernon they still had to travel out to the ranch by buckboard. But the party of important guests had arrived prematurely. Not only Van Horne, an immensely corpulent man whom Lady Ishbel called 'the great Panjandrum of the C P R', but five other railway and banking officials as well had descended on the ranch house. Marjorie and Archie invited the gentlemen into the parlour, ventured some strained conversation, and sat on the edge of their chairs with their eyes on the window.

Unluckily, the buckboard in which their parents were travelling was giving trouble. One wheel persisted in sticking. Finally Lord Aberdeen and his man Percy pulled some butter from their load to grease the axle and they rolled along at a faster clip.

Lady Aberdeen had not expected six guests: 'The supplies at the Ranch very nearly gave way, though Marjorie and I were alone conscious of the horrors of the situation and happily H. E. [His Excellency] did not notice.' The visit was profitable; Van Horne was impressed with their fruit and a large order came in for their next crop.

On their visits Lady Ishbel set afoot improvements for the little town of Vernon, including a reading room for idle young men, a cottage hospital and resident nurse. In 1896 they held a musical evening in the vacant jam factory, where they served a sumptuous supper. The event was described in the *Vernon News* as 'the most brilliant assembly in the history of the city'. Ishbel thought that with streamers and flowers the building looked very pretty, adding, 'We wish however, that it could have been put to its proper use.'

In later years it was incorporated into the Bulman Cannery, but was destroyed by fire in the 1930s.

The Aberdeens visited the Okanagan twice after the viceregal term ended. By 1906 Lord Aberdeen had taken a partner, James Buchanan (Lord Woolavington) into the Coldstream enterprise. Large irrigation works had been undertaken; the holding reservoirs were christened Lake Aberdeen and Lake Haddo.

A prospectus of their company in 1906 announced shipments of close to 500 tons of fruit annually to Vancouver, Victoria and the expanding Northwest; expenditures included a further £10,000 to place an additional 2,000 Coldstream acres under irrigation. A number of twenty-acre lots had been sold to 'English, Scotch and Canadian people of good standing and means', the company providing nursery stock and an initial three-year cultivation agreement. The prospectus boasted that British Columbia had taken a gold medal at the 1906 Colonial Fruit Exhibition in London. The Aberdeens sold out their remaining interest in Coldstream in 1920.

Today Coldstream Ranch remains intact, despite the thrust of Vernon subdivisions towards its gates. The history of the area credits the Aberdeens with giving the first great impetus to fruit cultivation, the chief industry of the Okanagan.

Coutts Marjoribanks returned to the district with his wife and built a fine house called 'Invercraig' on Lake Kalemalka. His descendants still live at Kelowna.

On the outskirts of that city, the first ranch house he built still stands, shorn of its verandahs, but set in a charming garden cultivated by Mrs Cameron from Aberdeenshire, the wife of the present owner, Paddy Cameron. The Cameron family bought Guisachan in 1903; their son Paddy took it over in due course from his father.

Every town, no matter how new in the world's history, is entitled to its resident ghosts. There are those who say, as they turn from the neat bright suburban streets of Kelowna up that dark tree-lined driveway, that a coach and horses can be clearly heard rattling past — and vanishing just before it arrives at Paddy Cameron's door. ◆

Sault Ste Marie c. 1821, showing the Indians shooting the rapids and the HBC post on the right. The centre building is probably Ermatinger's stone house. From H. R. Schoolcraft's 'Narrative', 1821.

Commerce, Civility and Old Sault Ste Marie

By Graham A. MacDonald

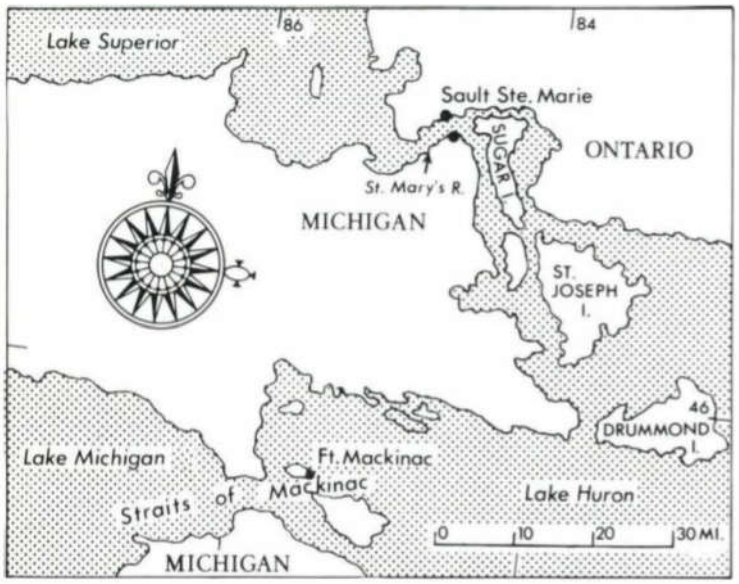
Part One of a Two-Part Article

DURING THE FIRST THIRD of the nineteenth century sustained efforts were made to create a community of some diversity along the upper reaches of the St Mary's River at Sault Ste Marie. For instance, some progress was made in the development of institutional life associated with education, medicine, and religion. Towards the end of this period the first canal lobby concerned with improving the route into Lake Superior became a feature of American political life, although the great engineering project which was to so profoundly alter the economic character of Sault Ste Marie did not come into being until 1855.

The most striking achievement of these years, however, lay in another direction and is associated with arts and letters. To speak of the flowering of a literary culture would be to exaggerate; but that some remarkable literary contributions were made by members of Sault society in this period is a subject of interest. The context of this literary expression was the decline of what might loosely be called 'fur-trade society' in its purest form. This brief but vigorous period of creativity was made possible by the appearance of strong personalities within a social tradition in which French, Indian and English had for some time been intimates, by reasons of both trade and affection. It was also the time when this delicate balance of diverse people was about to pass away

---

Graham MacDonald is an interpretive planner with Parks Canada, Prairie Region. He has done extensive research on the history of Northern Ontario.



under the onslaught of frontier development.

The origins of this fur-trade society at Sault Ste Marie can be traced back some three centuries. In the cartography of the Old Northwest*, the place name 'sault' was one of the first to appear on European charts. It is to be found on Champlain's map of 1632, although that remarkable French explorer never viewed the great river which empties Lake Superior. A European presence of a most tenuous nature was maintained at the Sault for much of the seventeenth century through the efforts of Jesuit missionaries. The work of 'conversion' began in 1641 when Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues arrived on the banks of the St Mary's River and addressed some two thousand Saulteurs and other Indians who had gathered there for the fishing season. It ended in 1689 with the abandonment of the Sault mission, a response to many years of Iroquois harassment. In that same period only a handful of other Europeans had penetrated so far into the Lake Superior country, men such as Jean Nicolet, Radisson, Des Groseilliers, Hennepin, and Galinée. It is in the accounts of these men and in the Jesuit *Relations* that the first observations were made on the social and economic role of the Sault as a place of coming together for many tribes around Lake Superior.

The Algonkian Indians of the region described it as the 'bawating' or 'place of the rapids'. It was a place of meeting, worship, trade, and above all, fishing. In particular, the whitefish were taken over two long seasons every year. It was for these reasons that St Lusson found it so convenient to gather the Sault tribes together in 1671 for the purpose of conducting a ceremonial pageant on behalf of Louis XIV. By means of this ceremony, France advertised the notion that it had extended its protection to the assembled tribes and claimed sovereignty over the area.

After 1689 the Lake Superior country remained largely the province of the native peoples. Little in the way of European trade or settlement took place during the reign of Louis XIV, for the Sun King's European wars seemed to make endless demands on the youth of France and its colonies. Official French policy after 1696 was to cancel trading licences and instead encourage native traders to come to Montreal. This strategy was not successful and in 1716 Governor Vaudreuil initiated the 'postes du nord' policy, a policy favourable to the construction of a chain of posts from the upper Great Lakes to the prairies.

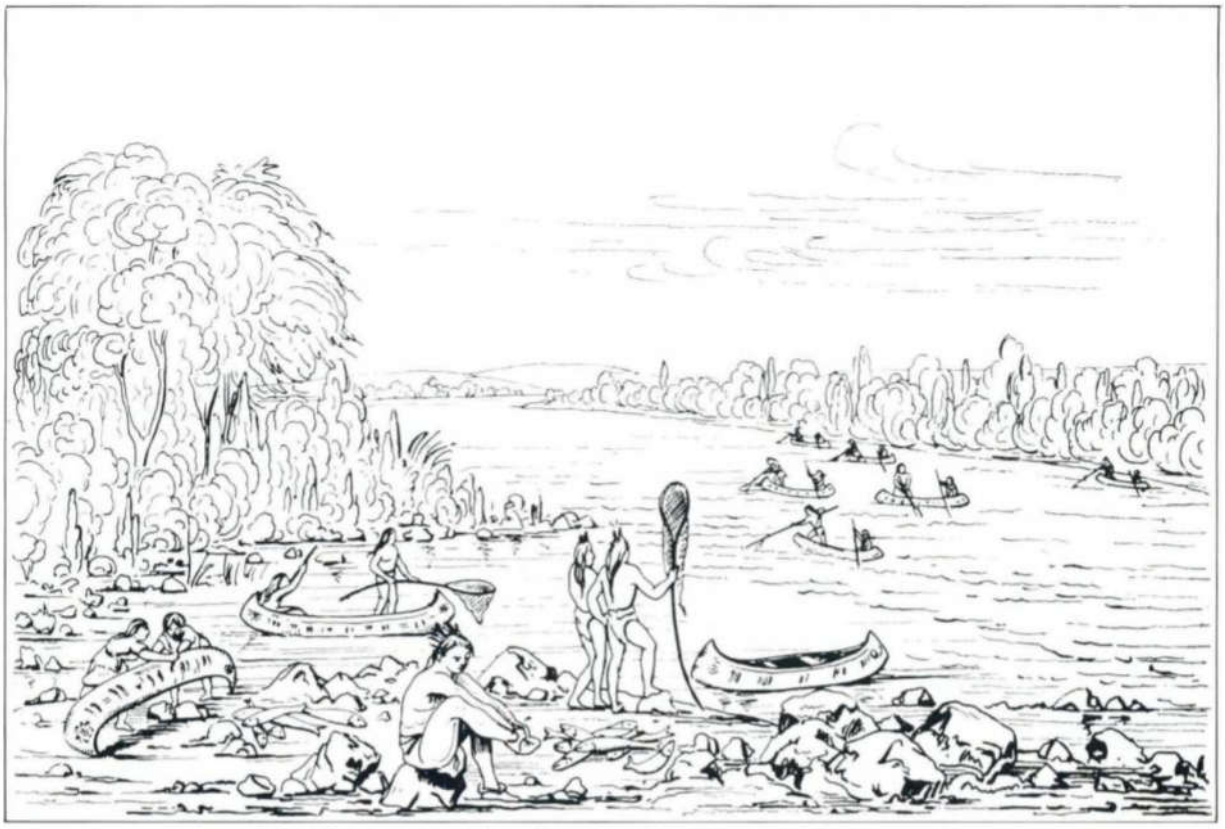
There were a number of strategic reasons for this policy. The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht had effectively prevented the French from using the Hudson Bay route into North America. If Louis XIV's successors intended to revive the fur trade, it would have to be done by the south.

In 1717 La Noue re-established a post at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River close to the modern city of Thunder Bay. French traders had established a post in this vicinity as early as 1679. A major fort was established at Lake Pepin in the upper Mississippi River Valley in an effort to keep the Sioux from warring on the Assiniboine, Cree, and Ojibwa middlemen of the fur trade. The policy went slowly at first, but was given a strong initiative after 1731 by the La Vérendryes. Fur was not all that motivated La Vérendrye, for always in his mind lurked the centuries-old quest for the western sea. By 1741 the family had established forts from Rainy Lake to Fort Dauphin in present-day western Manitoba.

This rush to discover and extend trade westward meant that sustained efforts at settlement along the main route remained minimal, for there were few reasons to linger while travelling to the fur suppliers. This was true of Sault Ste Marie. Prior to 1750 only the shipyard of M. de la Ronde Denis would have been noticed. In 1734 this enterprising French gentleman established his site a few miles west of the rapids at present-day Point Aux Pins. The vessel constructed there was used mainly for exploration of copper deposits on the Lake Superior coast.

It was in 1750 that a new initiative was taken by the French authorities aimed at stimulating settlement. A seigniory was granted to Louis Le Gardeur, Sieur De La Repentigny, and to Captain Louis De Bonne, Sieur De Miselle. The grant was for 214,000 acres. While the French leadership wished to promote some agriculture, this was not the only enterprise of interest to the two men. They also received the right to prosecute the fur trade around Lake Superior.

**The region between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the Great Lakes.*

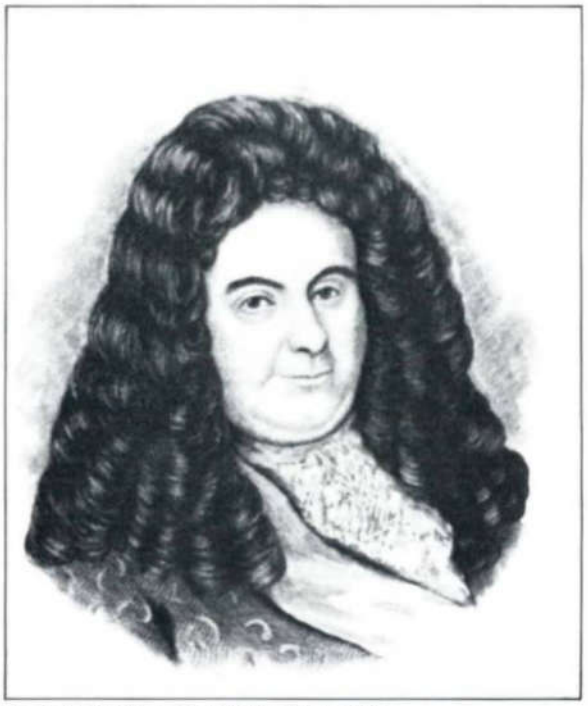


Indians fishing in the rapids at the Sault, c. 1836. From a sketch by George Catlin.

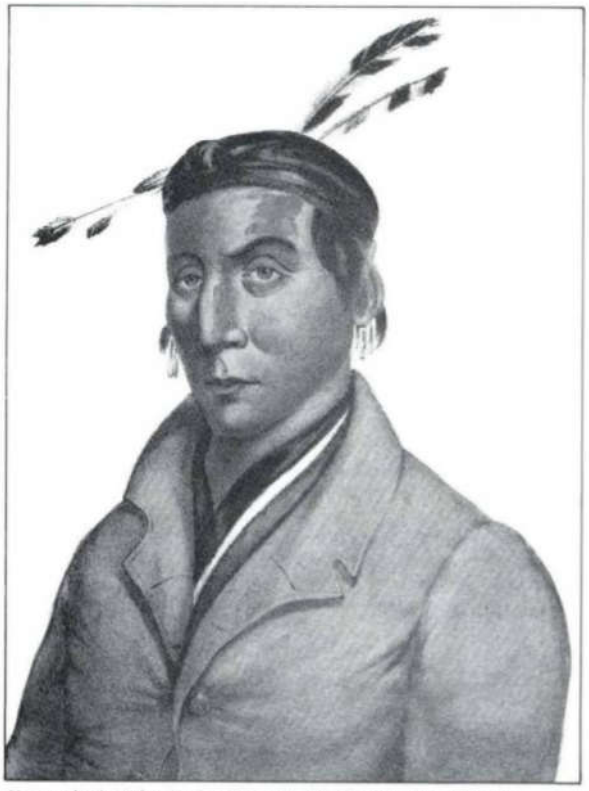
Circumstances did not allow these two aristocrats to take a firm hold of their new lands at Sault Ste Marie. It is doubtful if De Bonne ever saw the site. Repentigny spend part of each year between 1750 and 1758 at the property on the south side of the St Mary's River, but after 1755, being an officer in the army of New France, matters of war occupied most of his time. Following the final defeat of New France on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, Repentigny chose not to serve new masters and sought instead further imperial service, first in Guadeloupe, and then in Senegal, where he was Governor.

Repentigny's main achievement at the Sault may have been his success in inducing a Canadian to 'take a farm'. This feudal vassal was Jean Baptiste Cadotte, born in Three Rivers about 1732. His grandfather may have been at Sault Ste Marie in 1671 with the St Lusson expedition.

Cadotte was the only tenant on Repentigny's estate and he was the only effective agent helping to assure that the terms of the grant were fulfilled. There were two native slaves as well, probably purchased from tribesmen at the Sault. There may have been others, for the Mackinac parish register records baptism information on the children of slaves belonging to Repentigny. Cadotte had married Anastasia, the



Louis Le Gardeur, Sieur De La Repentigny, co-holder of the seigniory at Sault Ste Marie, 1750-58.



Katawabeda (The Broken Tooth), Chief of the Sandy Lake Chippewa and father-in-law of Charles Oakes Ermatinger.

daughter of a Nipissing Indian of the Lake Nipigon area.

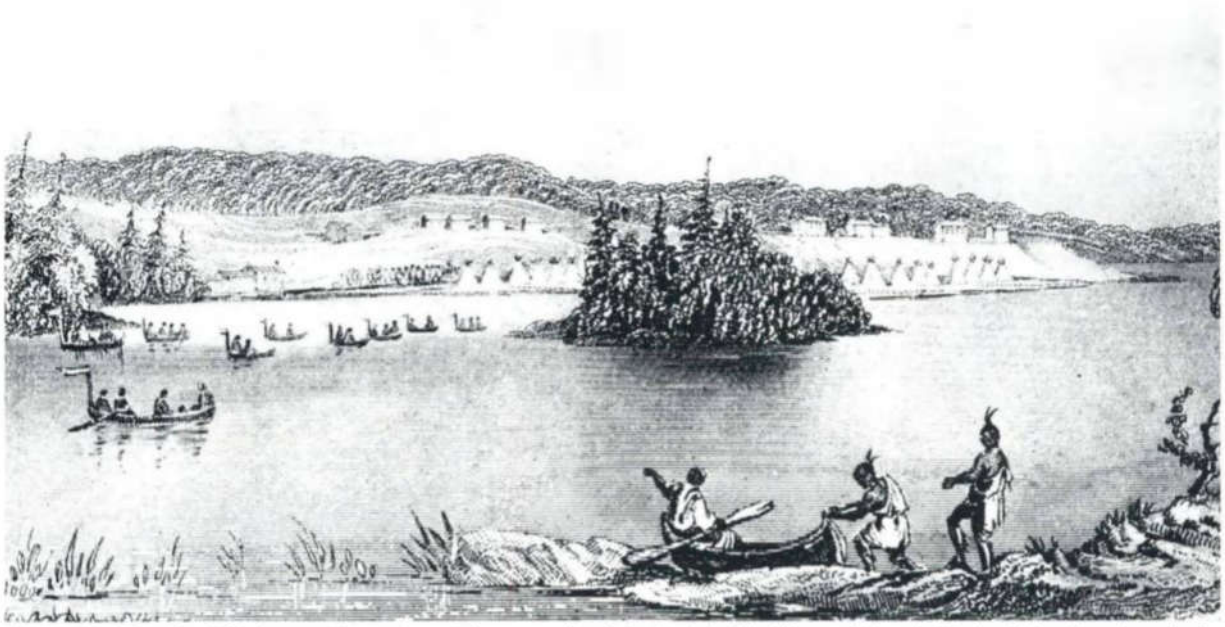
Despite native hostility towards the British in the aftermath of the French defeat, the indomitable trader Alexander Henry ventured into the upper lakes country in 1760. In 1762 he was at the Sault where he found Cadotte in charge of the Repentigny estate. Anxious to be able to communicate with the tribesmen around Lake Superior, Henry chose to winter with the couple, for 'In the family of M. Cadotte, no other language than the Chippeway was spoken.'

Thus the elder Henry became the object of a kind of hospitality fostered by a characteristic type of marriage alliance in the Old Northwest — that of a European trader with a native woman. European-native marriages were by no means restricted to any one class or segment of society. Many of the leading fur-trade partners and members of the early frontier intelligentsia formed alliances with native women; and as might be expected, these were often alliances with women from the upper ranks of native society. The history of the Cadotte connection is instructive in this sense.

Cadotte had two sons by Anastasia. J. B. Cadotte Jr married Saugemauga (native line uncertain) while Michael Cadotte married Equaysayway, daughter of Waub-o-jeeg (The White Fisher) — hereditary Chief of the La Pointe Chippewa. Michael Cadotte had two daughters and they married two brothers, Lyman and Truman Warren, of an old Massachusetts family. The Warren brothers had come to Lake Superior in 1818 and entered the service of Michael Cadotte. Many years earlier, J. B. Cadotte Sr had looked to the formal education of his two sons, and this may help to explain how in the fourth generation there emerged a man of personality and literary achievement in the figure of William Whipple Warren. Born in 1825, he was the eldest of eight children born to Mary and Lyman Warren. His *History of the Ojibway Nation* was completed in 1852, although not published until 1885.

Another set of connections can be noticed which illustrates the regular interconnection of European and native blood in the upper ranks of society. The 'elder statesman' of the Sault was John Johnston. Having tired of administering the Belfast Waterworks, he had come to Lake Superior in 1791. A man of some social standing and education, he also married a daughter of Waub-o-jeeg. It was a daughter of this union who would later marry Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the explorer and pioneering ethnologist who came to the Sault as United States Indian Agent

Mrs John Johnston, daughter of Waub-o-jeeg (The White Fisher), hereditary Chief of the La Pointe Chippewa. A daughter of the Johnstons married H. R. Schoolcraft.



Drummond Island c. 1824, from an illustration which appeared in John Bigsby's 'The Shoe and Canoe'. Charles Oakes Ermatinger had a post at Drummond Island until 1828, in addition to posts at the Sault and St Joseph's Island.

in 1822. This alliance was instrumental in not only making Schoolcraft's official duties much easier but in also giving him access to the lodges, and memories, of a broad range of tribal groups who became his informants and the subjects of his impressive researches.

William Whipple Warren's uncle, Truman Warren, died within four years of his marriage to Charlotte Cadotte. In time Charlotte remarried; her second husband was James Ermatinger, a nephew of Charles Oakes Ermatinger, *bon vivant* and the leading fur trader of Sault Ste Marie. The name Ermatinger will be familiar to those interested in the history of the Talbot Settlement in southern Ontario, but the background of the northern Ermatingers is less well known.

As a family name in the Canadas it can be traced back to the earliest days of the British Conquest. Lawrence Ermatinger moved to Montreal in 1760 after a period spent in the American colonies. He had been born in 1743 in Schaffhausen, Switzerland, to a family who had probably come there from Ermatingen on the Rhine sometime in the fourteenth century. A merchant, Lawrence Ermatinger became one of the early 'Nor' Westers' of 1776. He married Jemima Oakes, the sister of another prominent Nor'Wester, Forrest Oakes of Mackinac. There were six children of this union, one of whom was Charles Oakes Ermatinger. Charles chose to follow in his father's footsteps and in 1795 he entered the fur trade as a clerk. Later he bought shares in the North West Company and by 1805 had established himself at the Sault on the south side of the river. About 1808 he moved to the British side and began clearing the 200-acre lot which would be the site of a magnificent stone house ten years later.

Charles Ermatinger had been at work in the Canadian Northwest before his arrival at the Sault and like so many of those we have mentioned, he had married a native woman. Charlotte Ermatinger was the daughter of Katawabeda (The Broken Tooth), Chief of the Sandy Lake Chippewa and one of the respected elders in the upper Mississippi tribal councils. Thirteen children were born to the Ermatingers, five of whom died in infancy.

Ermatinger was a shrewd trader and businessman and his loyalties were clearly to fur rather than to any one company or form of association. He operated in turn as a Nor'Wester, as an independent trader, and as a Hudson's Bay Company official. It is known that in 1816 he was forwarding supplies to Lord Selkirk at Red River. Selkirk arrived at the Sault in 1817 to try to persuade Ermatinger and John Askin Jr to act in their capacities as Justices of the Peace and arrest the

North West Company traders at Fort William for their role in the Seven Oaks Massacre. Both men declined. Nothing would have been worse for Ermatinger's pragmatic trade relationships.

The basis of Ermatinger's business was his three trading posts at the Sault, St Joseph's Island, and Drummond Island. Despite its presence on American territory, he was able to administer the last-mentioned post until 1828 when the Island was officially turned over to the United States. Shortly after giving up the Drummond Island post he retired to Montreal. That he had prospered is certain. In 1817 Ermatinger had become a charter subscriber to the newly established Bank of Montreal. By 1830 there were 176 shareholders, only eleven of whom owned more than one hundred shares. One of these was C. O. Ermatinger.

What Ermatinger's motives had been in removing to the British side in 1808 are not certain, but they may well have stemmed from the 1806 revisions to Jay's Treaty of 1794, and the continuing pressure by the United States government to restrict British fur-trade activity on American soil. On the other hand, the British fur traders around Lake Superior, and many of the Indians, were anxious to see the traditional rules of the trade maintained whereby commerce was conducted freely between British and American territory. This was an important consideration in 1812 and helps to explain the development in that year of a force of some three hundred whites and four hundred Indians who, under Captain Charles Roberts, engineered the capture of Fort Mackinac, the crucial United States military base controlling the Lake Superior country. Ermatinger and John Johnston were among those co-ordinating the attack. The United States forces had little to gain in attempting a recapture until 1814. In July of that year the Sault was sacked by American naval troops. Fur trader Gabriel Franchère arrived at the Sault just days after the attack and left an account of the destruction. John Johnston, on the American shore, lost everything, while the North West Company stores were put to the torch on the Canadian side. Ermatinger's private buildings were spared, however, perhaps owing to his having stood his ground at the Sault during the sacking, and claiming to have been 'an honest man'.

Whatever the reasons which caused Ermatinger's private buildings to be spared, something of his enterprise can be judged from the comments in Franchère's journal:

> On the British side we found Mr. Charles Ermatinger, who had a pretty establishment: he dwelt temporarily in a house that belonged to Nolin, but he was building another of stone, very elegant, and had just finished a grist mill.

Charles Oakes Ermatinger remains a shadowy figure, recalled for us today more by the opinion others had of him than by his own words. In 1819, Governor Williams of the Hudson's Bay Company had need to point out at length to Ermatinger the unsatisfactory nature of the bills and accounts being paid out to third-party carriers between Lake Superior and Montreal. The Governor stated that 'it will be highly necessary that there should be a proper degree of understanding between you and the agents, that such abuses should not exist in the future.' According to Williams: 'The two light canoes sent up this Spring with Messrs Murphy, Bourke and Louis Nolin will cost the Company at least Twelve Hundred Pounds.' The language of propriety was taken to great heights by Hudson's Bay Company officers, and official letters invariably ended on a note of harmony. What had been a letter of rather strong rebuke was ended by Governor Williams in the following manner: 'I should be very happy to hear from you, indeed the respectability and integrity of your character gives me great hopes as to future management of this but too long existing abuse'.

This was the normal estimate of Ermatinger, with the exception of H. R. Schoolcraft whose relationship with the fur trader was probably lukewarm at best. The naturalist John Bigsby passed the Sault in 1824, and described Ermatinger as 'every inch a trader, public-spirited, skilful, sanguine, and indefatigable'. Where Ermatinger was known for his frontier hospitality, the scholarly Schoolcraft had only a minimum amount of time that he was prepared to give over to frivolity. A deeper division may have separated the men, however. Schoolcraft's long tribute to his father-in-law, John Johnston, suggests that Schoolcraft never overcame a certain suspicion that someone had betrayed Johnston in 1814 when the Americans sacked the Sault. Johnston had lost everything, while Ermatinger had come through it unscathed. Any such suspicion was never made public in the years after Schoolcraft's arrival at the Sault, but the inference in his 'memoir' is unmistakable.

The second decade of the nineteenth century had been a tumultuous one in the Old Northwest, but with the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821 a certain stability in the fur trade developed. On the American side, the year 1821 also defined a kind of watershed in social terms. The establishment of an official American presence at the Sault in that year did much to enliven frontier life. The embodiment of American ambition was to be found in the new Indian Agent. Throughout the next two decades Henry Rowe Schoolcraft would set his personal mark on the Old Northwest, and indirectly he would help forge a mythic tradition of the North American Indian which still has much currency today. ◆

The old stone house of Charles Oakes Ermatinger. Its construction began c. 1814 and was completed c. 1823.

Graham A. MacDonald

A view of the Canadian side of Sault Ste Marie from Whitefish Island, 1978. In the foreground is the remaining stretch of the Sault rapids.

Graham A. MacDonald

PACIFIC LAGOON AFTERNOON

A LONG BEAK slashed into the water. The slim head and neck followed. A moment of stillness and then the serpentine neck recoiled. A sculpin danced in the great blue heron's bill. The lanky bird gave its victim a furious shake and then flipped the stunned fish around so it could be swallowed head first.

The bulge in the heron's neck was still twitching as I lowered the binoculars. From my seat on a rock I had a clear view of this coastal lagoon. It was only a short drive from my home on southern Vancouver Island and I came here often to observe and photograph the creatures that frequented the shallow body of water. Despite its location near a growing suburban neighbourhood, this lagoon, like many others along the Pacific coast, still provides a rich habitat for wildlife.

A sand-bar protects the lagoon from the sometimes rough waters of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Each day tides rush in through a narrow channel, sweeping billions of microscopic plants and animals into the lagoon. These free-drifting organisms, called plankton, comprise the basis of the food chain. Nestled in the mud and sand, fastened to rocks or crawling along the bottom are myriad higher creatures. Clams, snails, barnacles, shrimps, worms, insect larvae and many other types of invertebrate animals permanently reside in the lagoon. They hungrily await the full course that is served with each incoming tide.

Photos and Text by Tim Fitzharris

Tim Fitzharris of Victoria, B.C., is a free-lance wildlife photographer whose recent work includes a wildlife calendar for Wagner & Teldon Publishing Ltd. of Vancouver; and a book of colour photographs on the natural history of Vancouver Island: 'The Enchanted Islands', to be published next spring by Oxford University Press, Toronto.

Double-crested cormorant taking off.

The Pacific lagoon (left) and inset, a great blue heron.

Permanent residents in the lagoon: starfish, edible crab species, mollusks.

synthesizing the water-borne nutrients into high quality protein. In the process they become the main source of food for many of the fish, birds and mammals of the lagoon.

Without warning a cormorant popped to the surface in front of me. Its stout beak was empty. Unlike the herons that stalked their prey through the shallows, the cormorant gave chase underwater. Abruptly, it took off across the lagoon, the big, webbed feet slapping at the water's surface. It flew to a rocky island where a dozen other cormorants were roosting. A few of these dark birds held out their wings, vampire-like, to dry in the fading sunlight. I had to look carefully to pick out the black turnstones that shared the island. The turnstones were medium-sized shorebirds that bred in the Arctic but passed the fall and winter months along the southern coast. They pattered soundlessly over the rocks, plucking at tiny crabs and rummaging through the stranded kelp for sand-fleas and other morsels.

Near by, the heron, grown restless, lifted its great wings. With a powerful downward thrust and a guttural squawk, it was airborne and flapping languidly toward the towering Douglas firs that rimmed the shoreline. This lumbering passage upset a belted kingfisher perched on a snag that hung out over the water. The small bird rasped a staccato warning at the heron but otherwise did not budge.

Belted kingfisher calling from a fishing perch.

Black oyster-catcher.

View of the lagoon parallel to gravel bar.

Common tern.

The big-headed kingfishers were common in the lagoon and took their toll of fish and crabs. They hunted with great flair, plummeting headlong into the liquid element to seize the prey that lurked unknowingly below the surface. Often the kingfisher reappeared with a fish nearly matching itself in size and with tremendous effort tore its burden free of the water and lifted it to the perch. However, the battle was not yet won. The fish was then bludgeoned against the knotted snag and minced methodically from head to tail by the heavy beak. Then, when all life seemed departed, and with a good deal of exertion, the kingfisher swallowed its meal.

Most of the lagoon's gulls were swarmed onto a stretch of sand and gravel exposed by the outgoing tide. There were several hundred glaucous-winged gulls, but also a good number of mew and Bonaparte's gulls. A few arctic terns, late in migrating, were sprinkled among them. Most of these birds were congenially engrossed in straightening, oiling and zipping up feathers that had become mussed during the day.

A black oyster-catcher was foraging near this congregation — its last shift of the day. Unique to the Pacific coast, these birds are an exciting and uncommon attraction to the bird-watcher. The large, bronze-black bodies, pink legs, flattened scarlet bill and bulging yellow eyes conspire to produce an almost clown-like appearance, an effect which is heightened once the bird takes to the air, as a wild whooping call often accompanies its careening flights.

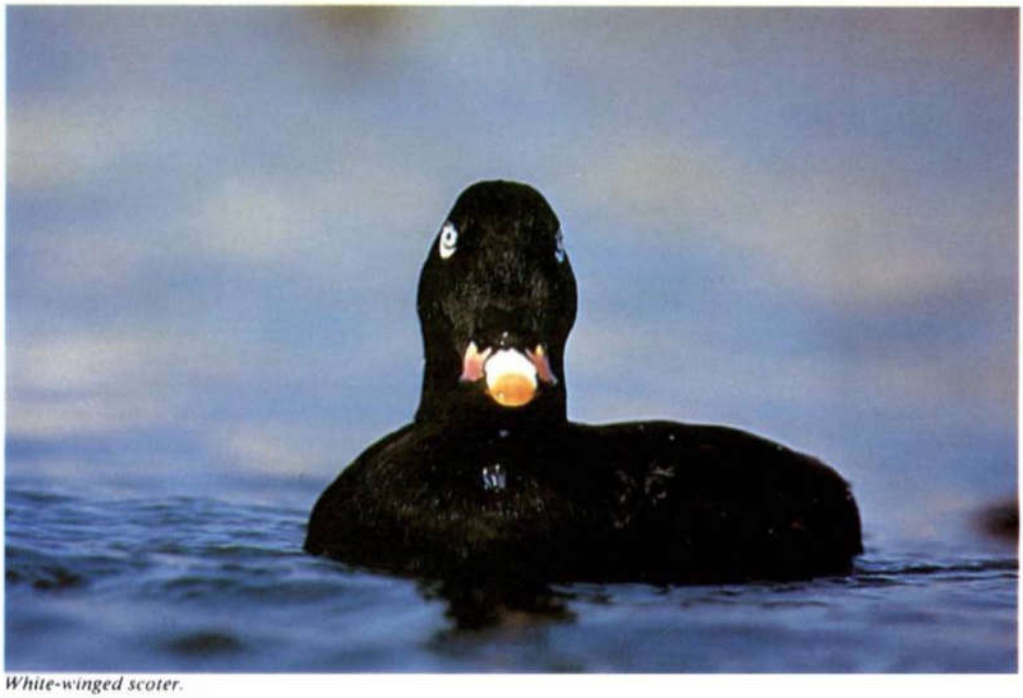
As the day calmed and the waters grew still, I could see that the distant surface was clouded with birds. Convoys of ducks, large and small, drifted and shunted about in a continually moving mass. Only a handful of mallards actually bred in the lagoon and the thousands that were here now had hatched in a prairie slough or perhaps a small lake of the British Columbia interior.

The climate of southern Vancouver Island makes an attractive wintering ground for migratory waterfowl. Largely responsible for this surprisingly balmy condition is the Japanese Current, a broad stream of water, warmed in the tropics, that sweeps northward and across the Pacific to bathe the British Columbia coast in mild temperatures. The climate is so mildly un-Canadian in fact, that there are 25 or 30 varieties of wild plants in flower during January, and a group of eager bird-watchers can expect to list over 120 bird species in a single day. In the dead of winter, temperatures commonly exceed 5° Celsius. For a duck from Lethbridge, it might as well be Miami Beach.

I decided to walk up the shoreline to take a closer look. Exploring a lagoon is not as comfortable as bare-footing it through a field of wild flowers. There are rocks, jagged and slippery, to be skirted or

Black turnstone.

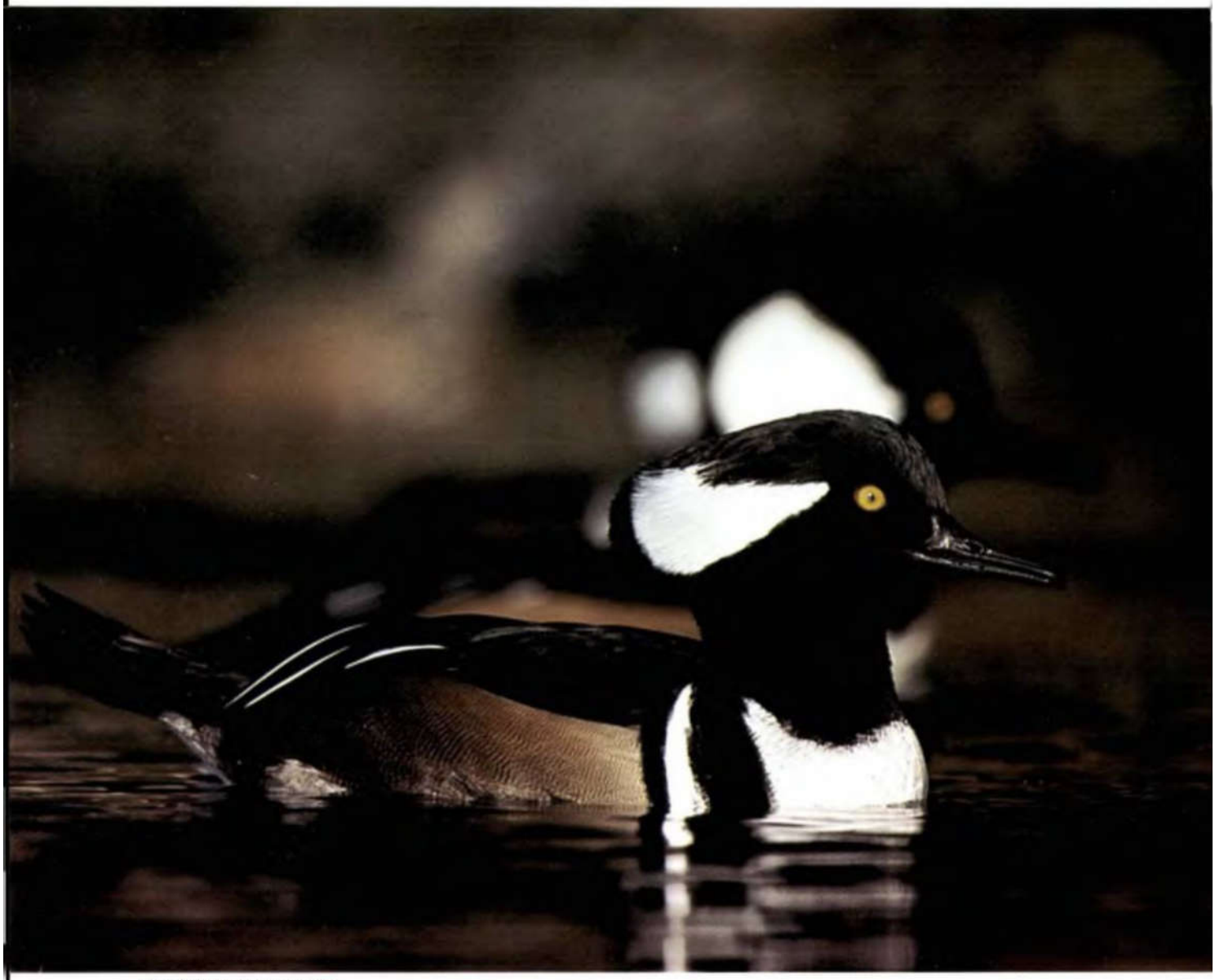
Male mallards.



White-winged scoter.

River otter hunting among the tangled driftwood.

Black-tailed coast deer (right).



Hooded mergansers (male).

Bald eagle.

Gravel bar and channel linking the lagoon to Straits of Juan de Fuca.

Common golden-eye (female).

cautiously traversed, shallow pools to ford and occasional barricades of tangled driftwood. I had not gone too far when I got the feeling that I was not alone. Of course other animals also visited the shoreline. Coast deer ventured into the basin to forage on the sedges and marsh grass. This was a species of mule deer, but smaller and darker than its inland cousin. Mink and raccoon were also very common. They usually feasted after dark on the seafood smorgasbord of the inter-tidal zone. River otters patrolled the shallows, and with some luck, I had photographed them here on several occasions. A freshwater stream that trickled into the lagoon provided attractive habitat for a pair of these lithe-bodied mustelids. Obvious trails, bank burrows, and droppings laced with the remains of fish and crustaceans were ample evidence of their presence.

From the heavy racks of Douglas fir, Sitka spruce and red cedar, peered eyes filled with intensity and hunger. Birds of prey — bald eagles, horned and long-eared owls, and several hawk species — all of these I had seen at one time or another hunkered silently on the dark branches. The powerful eyes of most homed in on the thousand-odd waterfowl wintering along this quiet stretch. They waited for a coot or widgeon to doze a few seconds too long. Then they struck. The lagoon would froth sporadically as flocks of fifty birds leap-frogged one another, dominoeing themselves in a mass panic to escape the deadly talons.

It took only a few minutes, however, for the scene to quiet once again. Although if an eagle even happened to take a scratch, it could set the nervous pot bubbling anew. American widgeon, mallards and white-winged scoters were the most common ducks but more than a dozen species could be listed with a quick sweep of the binoculars. For me the most interesting were the mergansers, and all three species of these saw-billed ducks were here most of the year.

As I continued my way along the beach, a line of red-breasted mergansers rounded the point ahead of me. They ploughed over the surface, heads buried in the water, visually tracking their submarine prey. In succession they curled from view. Then a rag-crested female surfaced with a large fish and the chase was on. Would she be able to choke down her dinner before it was snatched away by another of the fish ducks? Or would one of the large gulls that monitored such hunts swoop to knock it from her grasp as she surfaced for air?

The world grew quiet as I mused over this small and repetitious drama. A gentle wind played over my face and the shimmering surface of the lagoon. The dying sun projected long, fantastic shadows down the broken beach and far in the distance a flock of western sandpipers flashed in silhouette against the fiery sky. ◆

'Umiaktuktu-Boating': designer Annie Kilabuk; weaver Agah Etooangat. 75" wide x 42" deep.

The Pangnirtung Tapestries

By Charlotte and Edward Lindgren

For the past three years, fibre artist Charlotte Lindgren has been consultant for the Pangnirtung weaving shop. Her husband, an architect, worked on projects for native communities as an associate professor at the University of Manitoba. The Lindgrens now live in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Photographs by Campbell & Chipman, Winnipeg. The tapestries shown with this article are from an exhibition held in May 1981, at the Upstairs Gallery, Winnipeg. Most of the tapestries shown here are reproduced in editions of ten.

VISITORS TO BAFFIN ISLAND who take either the ancient DC-3 or the new Twin Otter from Frobisher over the mountains and Cumberland Sound to Pangnirtung, never forget the experience. Many stories are told by travellers about that adventure; the one thing they have in common is the description of the breath-taking beauty of the fiord with the mountains plunging into the sea.

In recent times visitors have been discovering the weaving shop at Pangnirtung and spreading the word about the beautiful, but hitherto little-known tapestries. Tourists from Canada, the United States, Sweden, New Zealand, Japan and Germany have taken these works of art home with them; enquiries have been made about showing them and having dealer representation in Europe.

Now in its twelfth year of operation, the weaving program was sponsored initially by the federal government and taken over by the Northwest Territories government in 1970. With Karen Bulow of Montreal as consultant and Don Stuart as manager, the weaving was launched as an economic venture to create employment in the community. First, there were sashes or belts, employing the traditional skills of finger-weaving; scarves, ties, rugs, blankets and parka braid followed. Finally tapestries were started and the first show, held at the Canadian Guild of

Pangnirtung Weaving Shop

Kawtysee Kakee, who brought her gift for colour to the weaving of the first edition of 'Umiaktuktu-Boating'.

'Children at the Summer Camp': designer Malaya Akulukjuk; weaver Kawtysee Kakee. 40" wide x 55" deep.

Crafts Gallery in Montreal in 1972, was an economic and artistic triumph.

The next significant exhibition of Pangnirtung tapestries was in 1978 at the Snow Goose Gallery in Ottawa. Then followed a series of shows in major cities across Canada and the United States. When Virginia Watt, managing director of Crafts Gallery in Montreal, presented her second exhibition of the Pangnirtung tapestries this year she stated that 'these tapestries are light years away from the first ones'. A recent exhibition was mounted by Faye Settler of the Upstairs Gallery in Winnipeg in May 1981. There, Robert Enright reviewed the show for the *Free Press*, commenting that the finest tapestry was 'Frightened Owl': 'its nocturnal aspect seems burned into the bright-yellow background'.

It is remarkable that these dynamic world-class tapestries come from a community of only 900 inhabitants — 400 of whom are children. The people of Pangnirtung had not seen the achievements of their weaving studio until an exhibition sale was held in the local school in November 1980. As a result of the show, the community realized that the weavers had indeed achieved a level of importance and performance equal to the Pangnirtung printers. It was an affirmation that the weaving shop was producing work not only for the South but for the North as well. Of equal importance was the development of a closer relationship with the Pangnirtung print-making shop. Recently the printmakers have started coming to see the work of the weavers, displaying a growing respect, and testifying to the strength of their achievement.

The Pangnirtung show marked an important change in the marketing of the tapestries in the North. Previous policy had opposed this, and with good reason. It was important for the shop to make a significant impact on the southern market by sending its best work out and to maintain proper ethical standards with the established Inuit art dealers. If the tapestries could be bought locally, then the best work would be acquired by local people, tourists, or roving dealers.

Now the tapestry shop is able, through a system of editions, to satisfy its growth objectives, pace its production, and have exhibitions and sales in the community. Instead of making every tapestry different, the shop will reproduce a number of the best designs in limited editions of up to twenty tapestries. This gives dealers across Canada and the United States a chance to have the best work. Editions are a guarantee of quality and availability.

The decision on which tapestries are to be reproduced is made collectively by the tapestry

'Antler Fighting': designer Gyta Isheemylee, weaver Towkee Etooangat. 33" x 27".

weavers and the manager. New designs are carefully chosen; each one has an appropriate size, medium, and technique. Not all of the weavers are artists. All, however, are competent to recognize good design. Thus in the collective decision-making they have tremendous creative input. Inevitably, they will make deletions from a design or simplifications based on the technical limitations and possibilities of the weaving process. Lines that involve fussy weaving or embroidery may be reduced or removed.

They will also decide whether the tapestry be woven lengthwise or widthwise. The overall proportions and treatment of background are arrived at by discussion too. The dimensions are set and a drawing the actual size of the tapestry is made.

This highly creative, studied approach gives to the first number of an edition an importance and excitement that is felt by everyone in the shop. Nevertheless, subsequent repeats are considered for possible refinements or improvements. As a result, no two numbers of an edition are perfectly identical. Sometimes the differences may be due simply to the need of the weaver to avoid the monotony of

Olassie Akulukjuk, who wove the first edition of 'Antler Fighting'.

Pangnirtung Weaving Shop

'Monster With Four Birds': designer Malaya Akulukjuk; weaver Towkee Etooangat. 33" x 28".

repetition; or, when the series is done over a long period of time, various editions are usually woven by different people.

In the translation of a design to a woven tapestry the art of the weaver is evident. A black line drawing on white paper becomes a composition of colour and depth; a figure in a landscape of white becomes a figure in a composition of shades of white. It is interesting to see how the weaver differentiates arms or legs crossing each another by changing the colour of one; and it is exciting to see how a face that had been defined with lines and dots in the sketch is translated into planes of colour that model the features and suggest three dimensions.

Adjacent colour areas may be woven with different colour wefts interlocking in such a way as to produce a blurred line. Or an outlining technique might be used by twining weft of a third colour to join two colour areas with a continuous line. The third technique, one most often used at Pangnirtung, is the practice of the slit technique. Slits between colours are left open to give a stronger definition and depth to the design; they are sewn closed only when necessary.

To express light qualities such as snow, fog and ice glare, transitional colour changes are made using the technique of hatching, as in 'Antler Fighting' and 'A Dog Is Harnessed'. It is likely that some of the most interesting developments will come as the weavers explore the possibilities and problems in depicting snow in all its variations that the Inuit know so well.

What is evident in the Pangnirtung tapestries is that superb design is married to superb weaving. The standard of weaving is uncompromisingly high, and the finishing is so perfect that it is difficult to tell the front from the back when the tapestry comes off the loom. The master weavers who are judged skilful enough to weave tapestries are indeed the first who should be credited with the success of the Pangnirtung shop. Among these, two people deserve to be singled out.

Olassie Akulukjuk, who has been weaving tapestries longer than anyone in Pangnirtung, deserves recognition for her exceptional work. She wove the first edition of 'Frightened Owl', 'Antler Fighting', 'Exploring a Cave', and 'Creeping Up'.

Kawtysee Kakee has a special gift for colour. When a large tapestry is to be woven she often does the first one, for she has the capability of working out the complex relationships that a large tapestry presents. She wove the first edition of 'Umiaktuku-Boating' and 'Raven Scares Creatures'. The first edition of the best tapestry in the Montreal show of March 1981 — Kawtysee's 'Going Fishing' was purchased by the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The next copy of this design will be displayed in the Frobisher Bay show in November 1981 at Baffin Kamutauyait.

Attention to detail is typical of the Pangnirtung weavers. The changes in the kind of sleeve that is made is a case in point. In the early tapestries the top and bottom were folded over. This was simple and provided sleeves where support rods could be inserted. But the Aubusson technique produces a very flat work and these bulky hems were not consonant

'Frightened Owl': designer Annie Kilabuk; weaver Kawtysee Kakee. 60" x 60".

with the elegant flatness of the tapestry itself. As well, the edges were vulnerable to wear.

Now the warp ends are neatly terminated by a thin line of Swedish braid at top and bottom; then a linen cloth sleeve covers and firmly anchors the ends. This type of braid and linen sleeve are in the best tradition of the ancient art of tapestry-making. As well, the linen sleeve provides a surface for information about the tapestry, which is written with indelible ink, in English and syllabics.

The designers, too, should be given credit for their contribution. The tapestries now being made are more varied than in the past. There are fewer single-figure designs now, and fewer that could be classed as merely decorative; most often they tell a story. For several years the shop used the drawings of just one artist, Malaya Akuklukjuk. Now drawings by a number of people are used so there is a greater variety of style and subject matter.

Some designers live on the land in outlying camps; others live in town. Some remember the old ways, some depict the legendary myths, and some, the magnificent landscape of Pangnirtung fiord.

In such works as 'Creeping Up' and 'Where They Go Caribou Hunting' the aerial view illustrates the unusual ability of the Inuit to visualize freely without European pictorial conventions. For example they are able to make absolutely accurate maps utilizing this ability to 'see' the land as if viewed from above. The community recognizes something of itself in these works, sees its world in its own way.

The contribution of the managers (or co-ordinators) has been another factor in the shop's growth. The previous manager, Megan Williams, was trained in the art of weaving. With her expertise she increased the weavers' technique and aesthetic vocabulary. The present manager, Deborah Hickman, is an art college graduate and weaver. Her organizational skills are bringing together the various aspects of production and marketing.

In her association with the weavers, Hickman too has become interested in the way the new weaving terminology has been adapted to the Inuit language. 'In most cases,' she writes, 'words have been borrowed

Pangnirtung Weaving Shop

Geela Akulukjuk at her loom in the Pangnirtung shop.

'Lady with Bird': designer Malaya Akulukjuk; weaver Geela Akulukjuk. 34" x 34".

from skills familiar before the introduction of weaving. The word for the verb "weave", for example, is "nuvisa" which is the same as the verb "knit". The word "loom" is "nuvisavu" which also means "knitting needles" or literally "an instrument for putting yarns together". . . . Weft threads are wound around bobbins before use and take the name "nuvilauti" which means to "to wind around". Warp threads, however, encounter a more humorous adaptation. As these threads are chained together into a coil before transfer to the loom, the word for "warp" is "inaluguat" meaning "looks like intestines".'

It is likely that a firmer sense of being in charge will come to the Inuit when one of their own people holds the title of manager. It is also certain that a southern connection will still be needed to handle the transactions of ordering supplies, delegating weavers and designers and doing business with the South in general.

This year two entirely new products were introduced: after-ski boots, and a jacket that is based on the traditional women's garment named 'akujulik' (a-koo-joo-lik) meaning 'parka with a little tail'. The nearby sewing shop was enthusiastic about the design and spontaneously made a matching nylon shell.

Another new venture is rug making. These are made only on order and distributed mainly through the network of tapestry dealers already established. Two rugs were exhibited with the tapestries at the Innuit Gallery in Toronto in September 1981, and the first woven Pangnirtung rug was commissioned by that gallery for a client's office in New York.

Tapestries have special quality: presence — a combination of material and size. In the earlier years the maximum size was 45" but now larger tapestries are being made and are much in demand. This may be a natural response to the impact of the art form. Anyone who has seen a large tapestry on a large wall is aware of how the tapestry can dominate an area. A tapestry on a wall seems to warm a room, to give it a special aura with its sound-and-light-absorbing properties.

When it comes down to the final analysis it is not the technique or the subject matter that is vital; it is the fact that the tapestries are memorable works of art. Some critics suggest that the Inuit tapestries are 'borrowed' art forms because there is no tradition of weaving in the Inuit culture. In my opinion, it is irrelevant that weaving is not indigenous to the Inuit. The fact is that the Inuit have survived over the centuries because they can adapt. What *is* their tradition is the taking of whatever means there are at hand to make a better life.

In their struggle for survival they were forged into a people who had marvellous manual dexterity, patience, and a sense of humour. They were not able to lose touch with the elemental in life, and this is what is genuine in their art; it is not the medium but the force of the imagery that brings renown to Inuit art, in all its forms. ◆

School Days at Willow Brook

By Evelyn Slater McLeod

Mrs McLeod of Seattle, Washington, grew up in a sod house near Consort, Alberta, and has published several articles about her pioneer experiences there.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the Provincial Archives of Alberta and the Alberta Department of Education in providing data for this article. Photographs are from the author's collection unless otherwise credited.

At right: the former Willow Brook School (now the Full Gospel Church) was moved into Consort, Alberta, in 1949. Shown during a visit in 1961 are two of the first pupils — Bertram Slater and Margie Slater Greenwalt, the author's brother and sister.

Below: on a visit to the original school site in 1965, the author looks out toward the coulee where the children once did their sledding at noon hours.

WHEN THE YEAR 1910 DAWNED on the prairies of Alberta it heralded arrival in the 'Promised Land' for 19 families from Benson County, North Dakota. The previous year these homesteaders had wended their way 110 miles south-east from Stettler (rails' end) by covered wagons and settled on the fertile soil of this untouched land.

There were 18 children of school age in these households and although most parents felt their obligation to start a school, it was Sheldon Slater (Congregational minister turned farmer) who spearheaded the project.

The chief sources of public school revenue were provincial government grants and local taxes. In rural school districts (in 1910 Alberta had 251 with school attendance of 55,307) taxation was based on acreage, the single land tax system prevailing in those districts. The maximum tax was ten cents per acre. The grants were legislative appropriations which took in many aspects too numerous to include in this narrative.

Before a school could be formed a provincial requirement called for a certain number of school-age children in the district. In general the minimum was eight, but with 18 in the rising generation we had no difficulty in qualifying. A school board of three was elected with Eber Waite as secretary. The normal term of office was three years and the terms were staggered so there were always experienced trustees.

The mandate called for at least one acre, fenced, in the centre of the district, providing the terrain was suitable. This resulted in Willow Brook School No 2100 being built on the north-west quarter of Section 11, Township 34, Range 6, West of the Fourth Meridian. The school numbering system began under the Territorial Council of the North-West Territories in 1885. It is interesting to note that before the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in September 1905, 1,409 schools had been designated within these geographical boundaries. The province of Alberta then continued with this system of consecutively numbering schools.

Embodied in a school statute commonly called 'the ordinance' was a requirement for the school board to obtain tenders prior to starting construction of their building. When this was done, the contract for Willow Brook School was given to a qualified settler in the district, Edward Akre, who had arrived with his large family by ox-team in the spring of 1910.

The building faced west. The floor area was 24 by 36 feet with an eleven-foot ceiling — large for those days. At the front were two cloakrooms (one for girls, one for boys) with shelves for dinner pails. A lean-to was added on the back of the building for fuel — coal, with enough wood of sorts from the nearby coulee to kindle a fire. The steep-pitched roof, with cupola, was covered with wood shingles. The structure was painted white, according to specifications.

Windows were also governed by the Department of Education. Our schoolhouse had five to the south, two on either side of the space allotted for the north-wall blackboard and one to the west in each cloakroom. Another blackboard was on the west inside wall behind the teacher's desk. Of course the provincial school authorities saw to it that we could not look out the windows while at our desks and watch the gophers at play. Their specifications called for the window sills to be from three and one-half to four feet above the floor with the top of the window extending to within six inches of the ceiling. Shades were provided on the south side for use in summer. The plain fir or hemlock floor was oiled. Single seats and desks in three sizes were provided.

At the back of the schoolroom a crude bench held a water pail with a long-handled dipper, and a wash basin. Water was carried from a spring in the coulee bordering the schoolyard on the north. The usual slop pail stood on the floor at the end of the bench and a rack for the roller towel was fastened to the wall close at hand.

Willow Brook School, built in 1910.

E. Brown Collection, Provincial Archives of Alberta

Interior view of a one-room country schoolhouse: Horse Hills School, Alberta, c. 1905.

Our plumbing was outside, of course. Regulations called for separate privies, under different roofs. They were to be separated by a close board fence at least six feet high and their entrances screened. For some reason (economics, no doubt) there never was a board fence. It is doubtful that specifications called for it, but an outdated mail-order catalogue was always on the bench of each 'rest room'.

The provincial educators were also interested in our comfort. Their ordinance on this was as follows: 'Due provision should be made for comfortably heating the schoolroom. . . . During cold weather a uniform temperature of about 66 degrees [Fahrenheit] should be maintained.'

In an attempt to conform to this, a very large coal-burning heater was set about a third of the way back in the room and a bit to the left of the teacher's desk. So there would be no heat loss, the chimney was at the back and the stovepipe snaked the length of the place. During the winter months, when the temperature was sometimes 40° below zero (when it was -60° F. we didn't go to school) the very presence of this pot-bellied stove was all we were aware of when we blew through the door at 9:00 a.m. Eber Waite, school board secretary, who lived only a quarter mile away, took on the janitorial work which included building the fire early in the morning. This he did, but how early he should have started the fire to get the schoolroom to the 66 degrees required before we arrived, sometimes frostbitten, nobody ever found out. During those times I know the 66-degree temperature was never reached. We kept our coats and mittens on until noon. The first hour we spent huddled by the cast-iron monster and then we went to our desks and fumbled with our pencils through our thick mittens.

For some reason, probably lack of funds, we used slates the first year, which were furnished by our parents, as were notebooks (scribblers they were called) the following year. Our parents also paid for our textbooks.

The children's ages were such that grades one through eight were taught by the harried instructors, right from the day our school opened. Our first teacher, Daniel Day, was approximately forty years old, of medium build with a pleasant personality. I was past seven years of age by the time there was a school available and was tall for my age, so Mr Day put me in the second grade. My Aunt Ellen, with whom I lived, had taught me to read a few lines in my primer (perhaps memorized rather than read) and I could say the alphabet and had learned to count. Other than that, school was an enigma.

The first lesson I recall was when Mr Day told us to learn our spelling and pointed out a list of words in a speller. I had no speller, so he wrote the list on my slate and placed the slate on my desk in front of me. I did not understand what was required, and continued to sit and be very quiet. When time was up and he started asking the pupils to spell their words as he pronounced them, I listened with growing fear, for I could see that my turn was coming soon. When the dreaded moment arrived I stood up as the others had done, but couldn't open my mouth. Mr Day asked me if I had learned my spelling and I shook my head. He then went to his desk and from a drawer took out the 'permissible' strap and struck me twice on the palm of each hand. Of course I started crying and Lawrence Slater, my cousin who was two years older than I, was the only one who came to my rescue. He told the teacher that I had never attended school before. Mr Day's attitude changed at once and he immediately assigned me to the first grade with the six-year-olds. From then on I had no more trouble and eventually learned to like Mr Day.

All children, except those who lived near by (one Slater family and the Waites), brought their lunches, usually in five-pound lard pails. Lard was a much-used product. In the winter months butter was often in short supply and children had bread spread with lard. The children of one family sometimes brought cold pancakes left from their breakfast and these were often spread with lard. I was so fond of pancakes that I envied these children, but my Aunt Ellen would have no part of it. She explained to me that it was 'a show of poverty'. As I recall those days I realize we were all 'disadvantaged' or 'underprivileged' as it is termed today, only we didn't know it.

School hours were from nine to four, Monday through Friday. In 1910 the teaching of only seven subjects was required — reading, spelling, writing, English literature, English grammar, geography and arithmetic. However, before I had completed my time

The author at age five.

there, six more subjects had been added — geometry, zoology, botany, algebra and Canadian as well as English history. Our day always started with a short reading from the King James version of the Bible, followed by the Lord's Prayer repeated in unison. On Fridays, an hour before closing time, the teacher would read stories to the younger children, while the more advanced finished their work. In the earliest days the storybooks were borrowed from the students' homes, but when we finally acquired our school library of 12 books the teacher read a chapter from one of these to all of us on Friday afternoons. I read and reread those library books so many times that I still recall the names of most of them, such as *Black Beauty* and *The Last of the Mohicans*.

At that time school attendance was mandatory only until age 14. One father kept his 13-year-old son, Lincoln Akre, out of school for a period in the spring to help put in the crop, but the school board contacted the Department of Education and Mr Akre was notified to get the boy back to school.

At one time we had a teacher, Miss Taylor, who had come directly from England. She was tall and thin with a sharp wit, and she brought the excitement of far horizons and a sense of importance to our

Willow Brook School pupils and teacher Lela Anderson, c. 1917.

country lives. Miss Taylor told us the story of her coming to Canada. The year was 1912 and she had booked passage on the *Titanic*. Two weeks prior to sailing she became ill and fortunately had not yet recovered at the time of its sailing, so came on the next ship. Miss Taylor told us the story of the *Titanic*'s sinking on 14-15 April 1912, and to us prairie children it was indeed a disaster to remember.

One distraught young woman teacher had a quick temper and had difficulty dealing with a boy of 13 who was a poor student. Miss Mac (I shall call her this to cloak her identity) always kept this pupil in a front seat so she could watch him, feeling that he would better attend to his lessons and hopefully learn to read and spell. I don't recall what kindled the attack, but Miss Mac became so infuriated that she forgot to use the permissible strap and grabbed a wire-edged ruler, striking the boy on the face. He threw up his hands to protect his face and she continued striking him on the forehead and backs of his hands until, perhaps from exhaustion, she stopped. The result was that his forehead and hands were badly cut up. Of course, even in those days this was not condoned by the school authorities. The school board took up the matter at once and Miss Mac was dismissed. This happened during the winter sometime, but our 'vacation' did not last long. Soon we had a replacement and were back at our desks.

In 1913 a family moved into the district who brought with them both body lice and head lice. Since they had children attending school this presented a problem, for body lice are travellers and our coats hung together. Also, each child's desk was part of the seat in front. Mothers were constantly on the alert for vermin that might have been carried home. We were told to keep our distance from these children, but being youngsters we did not always have lice on our minds. I brought home lice on many occasions, but constant vigilance on my aunt's part kept them from reaching other members of the family.

When our teacher was a woman, we girls looked forward to what she would wear. A few showed variety in their wardrobes while others held few surprises, and some were the essence of monotony. So that readers may understand better why the teachers' clothes meant so much to us, I will explain that the mail-order catalogue was the only other source of fashion we had, and to girls, fashion was important. Boys were boys then as now when it came to interest in style. In that era boys wore knee pants (knickerbockers) fastened below the knee, and then there was an expanse of black cotton stockings which disappeared into the depth of black shoes that came to the ankle. Boys always wore caps, summer and winter. They seemed as important as shoes, or more so, because many boys came to school barefooted in the summer. A few girls came with bare feet. I never did.

Everybody loved new shoes — from the mail-order catalogues, of course. These were always ankle-high and for both boys and girls might be either laced or buttoned. The latter had a row of buttons that fitted into buttonholes on the other side. A long-handled metal hook was required to do them up. The wearer would shove the hook through a buttonhole, snag a button opposite and pull the button through the hole to fasten the shoe. They were sturdy and always squeaked. I remember the proud expression on the faces of some of the boys as they walked from the cloakroom in the morning to their desks — squeaking all the way. Girls' shoes squeaked too, but the girls were somewhat more subtle about their bragging. The girls also wore black cotton stockings. In summer we wore sunbonnets which came well forward to shield our faces from the sun, and had little pleated or gathered curtains at the back to shade our necks. These covered our long hair which was usually braided and in most cases tied with gaily coloured ribbon.

Until 1913 I am sure no inspector visited our school. Then one morning our woman teacher told us a school inspector would be calling on us and asked that everyone be on their best behaviour. The pupils did not understand why this stranger was coming to our school and looked upon the visit with apprehension.

The inspector arrived by horse and buggy and tied his horse to the gatepost. I vividly recall that he was middle-aged, of medium stature with a plump face and somewhat bald. His conspicuous gold watch-chain was draped from one vest pocket to the other over a portly midriff, and his manner was pompous. I believe everyone in the schoolroom, including the young teacher, had forebodings. After looking over some records on the teacher's desk, the inspector surveyed us and asked questions of the older scholars.

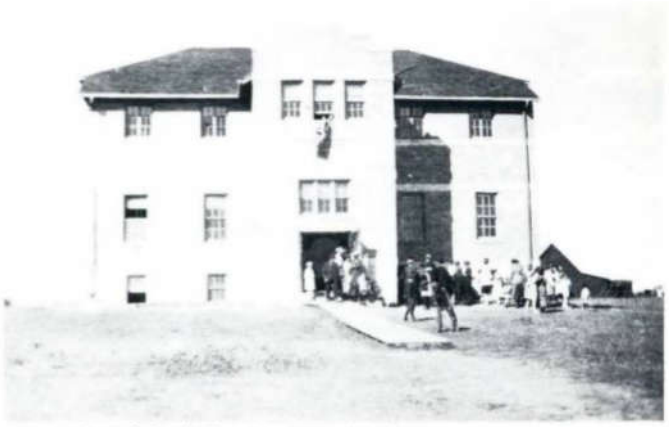
He then picked up our Third Book of the Alexandra Readers, and turned to the poem 'November'. At random he chose one and then another of the older students and passed the book to them, asking them to read the poem; but before any one of them finished the first verse he stopped them and told them how terrible their reading expression was. After several had been silenced he held the reader at arm's length and in a very dramatic manner, read the complete poem, after which he slammed the book down on a desk and told the teacher what he thought of the children's reading abilities. The teacher's face was livid. The inspector took his leave and for a moment or two there was total silence in the room.

During the winter months the 15-minute recess was devoted to playing ante-over (we called it 'ante-i-over'). For this game we divided into two even teams placed on opposite sides of the schoolhouse. A member of one team would throw the ball over the roof, shouting 'ante-i-over' as he did so. Whoever caught it would run around to the other side and throw the ball in an attempt to hit a member of the other team. The person hit would then have to join the opposing team. The game often ended in a snowball fight.

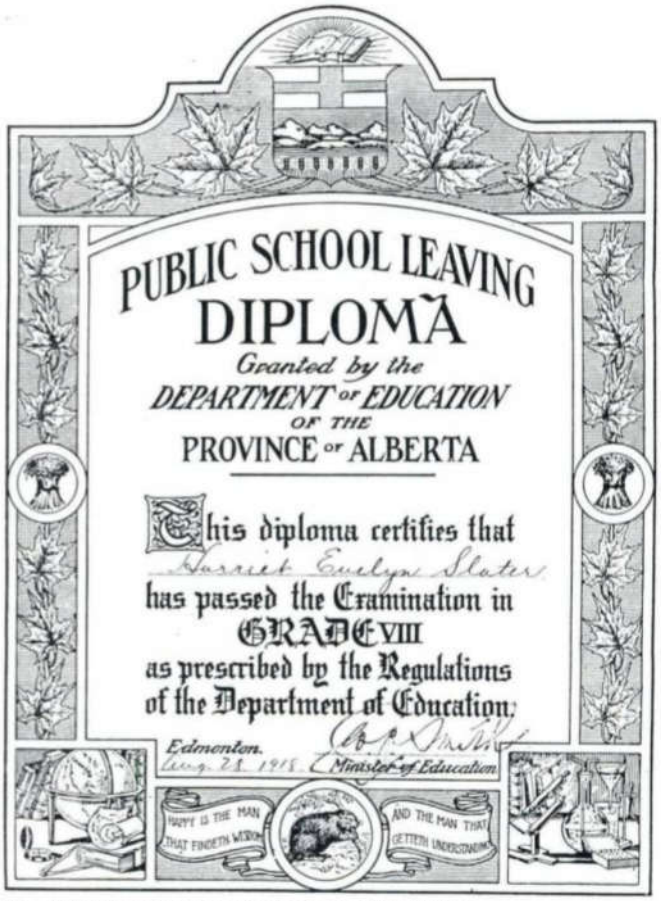
Noon hours were spent sledding down the coulee banks adjoining the north side of the schoolyard. Sharing our homemade sleds was essential, as not all children had them. In anticipation of the fun I often dragged mine the two miles I had to walk to school. In later years Lincoln Akre rigged up some skis from barrel staves and he and his peers were having fun on a steep bank until one of the boys, Harold Jackson, broke his leg. It was seven miles to town by bobsled and team, so that put an end to the skis. Should this have happened in the earliest years, it would have caused a panic in the community, for there was no doctor for many miles and nobody even knew where one might be available.

Spring brought ice-skating on a pond created from the melting snow, just outside the school fence to the south. The weather would turn cold and for a few days we would have good skating. Many of us bumped our heads, but there were no broken bones. Summer brought baseball and that was my favourite sport. When our school first opened there was no ball, so two of the mothers in the district made balls of binder-twine for us and covered them with canvas. Of course it didn't take long for the bat to create a lopsided ball and wear the threads that held the cover — the result being that mothers had a steady job keeping us in balls.

At Christmas we prepared our own Christmas Eve program. Our tree was a bare poplar from the coulee, decorated with cotton and dozens of doughnuts and frosted cookies in all shapes. Weeks before the holiday our teachers, with help from mothers in the



Consort Consolidated School in 1918, when the author took her Grade VIII provincial examinations there to graduate from Willow Brook School.


PUBLIC SCHOOL LEAVING
DIPLOMA
Granted by the
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OF THE
PROVINCE OF ALBERTA
This diploma certifies that
Harriet Evelyn Slater
has passed the Examination in
GRADE VIII
as prescribed by the Regulations
of the Department of Education.
Edmonton.
Aug. 28. 1918.
Minister of Education.
HAPPY IS THE MAN THAT FINDETH WISDOM
AND THE MAN THAT GETTETH UNDERSTANDING

The 'Public School Leaving' Diploma issued in 1918 by the Alberta Department of Education upon successful completion of the Grade VIII provincial examinations.

neighbourhood, started training us to recite poems, and to sing solos. One mother, Angie Molsberry, who was an accomplished elocutionist, always had a few of us doing pantomime. She believed, and inspired us to believe, that anybody could do anything if they put their heart into it and that all of us children were great reservoirs of unrecognized talents just waiting to burst into full bloom. I remember being an angel, robed in a white sheet, doing a pantomime while Angie played 'It Came upon the Midnight Clear' on the old pump organ (donated for church services).

Victoria Day (24 May) and Arbor Day (second Friday in May) were holidays, but not in the sense that we stayed at home. Queen Victoria's birthday was observed in the manner the holiday had been intended — to familiarize pupils with the growth and development of the Empire and to foster patriotic and imperial sentiments. The special exercises consisted of suitable recitations, singing of patriotic songs such as 'Rule Britannia' and 'The Maple Leaf Forever', along with the raising of the flag. On Arbor Day we planted trees on the school grounds and recited appropriate poems and sang songs.

During my eight years of attendance we had eleven different teachers — seven young women and four men, with Daniel Day (our first) being the only one of middle age. At that time a teacher was looked upon as an example of fine character and to my knowledge all our teachers fell into this category. This made them welcome in the primitive homes that supplied their board and lodging. All that they expected was cleanliness and sufficient food.

Accommodations cost a rural teacher between $12 and $15 per month in the home of one of the district's farmers. This was commensurate with their salaries which in 1910 averaged $685 per annum for women and $748 for men. These were for 'second-class' certificates.

At that time there were three classes of certificates issued to teachers. First-class required the highest qualifications: usually some university and at least Grade 12 (Senior Matriculation) plus one academic year of 'normal school', as teachers' college was called then. The second-class certificate required Grade 11 (Junior Matriculation) and one year of normal school. This was an interim certificate which could become permanent after one year of teaching, provided the teacher received a satisfactory inspector's report and successfully completed a reading course offered by the Department of Education. The third-class certificate was generally for teachers who were not trained in Alberta and who had fewer qualifications than were required for a second-class certificate. In addition there was a provisional certificate, or 'permit', issued to the school districts to enable them to hire for one year a teacher who was not able to meet the requirements for normal certification. I believe most of our young teachers held second and third-class certificates, and at least one taught on a permit. I recall considerable discussion about her lack of qualifications. Our first teacher, the middle-aged Daniel Day, no doubt was better equipped scholastically.

During the years, our enrollment increased to as high as 29. In the winter months a few boys beyond compulsory age came to school to add to their limited education. For the balance of the year they helped with farm work. Near the close of my years at Willow Brook (1916-1918), attendance had dropped to as low as eight or ten. I understand it later built up again.

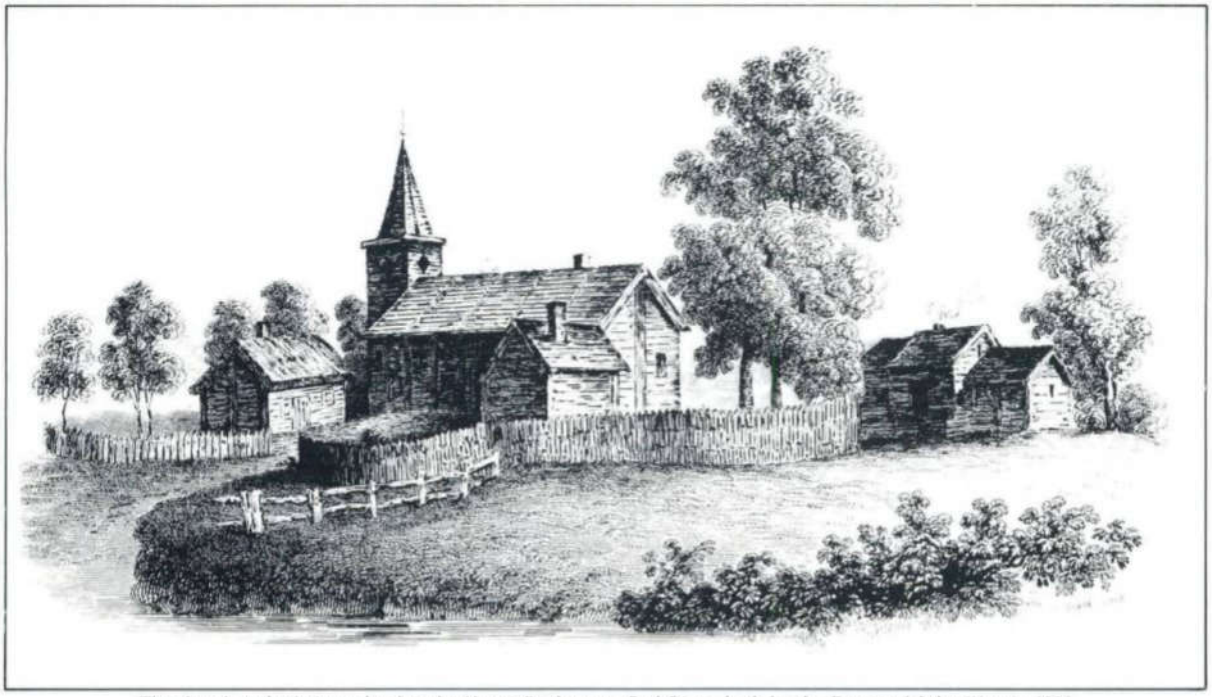
When it came time for me to graduate from this one-room rural school, my uncle and aunt with whom I lived, paid a $3 fee and I took Grade VIII provincial examinations at the new Consort Consolidated School. My teacher at that time, Grace McFetridge, arranged for me to board with her mother during the four or five days required to write the examinations. I lived over eight miles from Consort and a 16-mile trip daily by horse and buggy, or on horseback, would have been considerable.

During those early years the schoolhouse was also the cultural and religious centre of the settlement. Debates were organized and meetings held where homesteaders aired their concerns about wheat prices, railroads and economic survival. Church services were conducted there, and funerals. But then again the place would echo with laughter and music when it was the scene of box socials and dances.

In the fall of 1929, after an absence of nearly ten years, I returned to the district where I had grown up. I visited my old schoolhouse to attend a dance in my honour. The Harvey Kelts family, cousins of mine, furnished the music. Seven of them played instruments, including their ten-year-old daughter Cleona. The turn-out was heart-warming.

The Willow Brook School District was closed in 1946, and the pupils were taken by bus into Consort (seven miles north) to attend the consolidated school. In June 1949 the school building was moved into Consort, having been purchased by the Full Gospel denomination and at this time is still used as their church — a fitting requiem for the aging structure.

Memories of the two-mile trips to and from school, morning and late afternoon, have not dimmed with the passage of time — the prairie chickens whirring from the straw stacks on winter mornings as I passed, and the mirages I often saw from the hilltop; the blue crocus in spring carpeting the untilled land, and the meadowlark's morning song. In later summer, my loitering feet disturbed the grasshoppers and they took short flights into the drying blades. The short seasons ended when the snowflakes again wrote winter's signature on the Great Plains. ◆



The church and mission school at the Upper Settlement, Red River, built by the Reverend John West in 1822. From West's 'Substance of a Journal' (1820-23).

The Reverend David Jones: Missionary at Red River 1823-38

By Thomas F. Bredin

DAVID THOMAS JONES, evangelist, teacher, and chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, kept a journal for most of his fifteen years' residence, 1823-38, at the Red River Settlement. These diaries survive in the London archives of his sponsor, the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England. While Jones himself described them as 'merely a register of private feeling and experience', they are, in fact, an interesting record of life at the new colony.

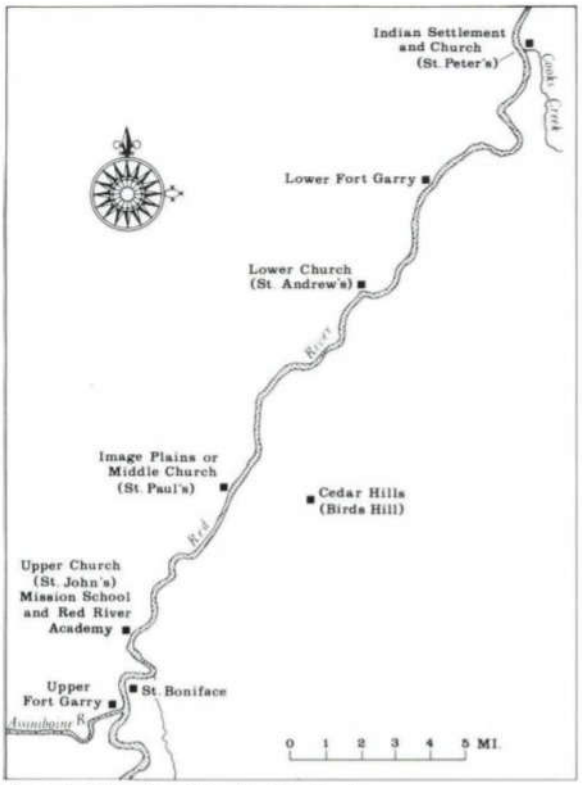
The late Thomas Bredin was Vice-Principal of St John's-Ravenscourt School in Winnipeg and head of the history department at the time of his death in April 1979.

He had a particular interest in the early history of the school and the Red River Settlement, and wrote a number of articles and books on the subject.

His register, started on 1 June 1823 aboard the *Prince of Wales* in the Thames, opens primly, even for a young and freshly ordained missionary: 'The day is peculiarly trying to me. . . . The appearance of most of the passengers plainly indicating that they were of a turn of mind unsuitable for me to hold converse with.'

Jones's aloofness was short-lived. Soon he was distributing religious tracts among the sailors. The *Prince of Wales* and her consort, the *Eddystone,* headed north to Stromness in the Orkneys, and thence westward to the southern tip of Greenland. Out on the Atlantic, when Sunday weather was fine, Jones preached from atop a cask on the open deck to passengers, officers and crew and then was rowed over mid-ocean to hold a service aboard the *Eddystone.*

Off Resolution Island at the entrance to Hudson Strait, thick masses of ice blocked their way, 'grating against the sides of the ship, making a noise very much


Indian Settlement and Church (St. Peter's)
Lower Fort Garry
Lower Church (St. Andrew's)
Image Plains or Middle Church (St. Paul's)
Cedar Hills (Birds Hill)
Upper Church (St. John's) Mission School and Red River Academy
Upper Fort Garry
St. Boniface
0 1 2 3 4 5 MI.

Protestant churches (Church of England) in the Red River Settlement c. 1838.

resembling the most tremendous thunder that I ever heard' and a few icebergs towered high over the hundred-foot masts. Temperatures fell below freezing, and overnight the rigging, sails, and deck became glazed with ice. So impressed was Jones with the elemental grandeur of it all that one day, while the *Prince of Wales* was grappled to a large piece of ice, Jones walked out on it to read God's words to Job: 'Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? . . . Out of whose womb came the ice? And the hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it?'

On Sunday, 16 August 1823, Jones landed at York Factory. A few days later he met John West, his superior and the first Anglican priest to the North-west. West sailed home to England on the *Prince of Wales* and, as he never returned, Jones succeeded to his various duties.

Jones went inland to a country with scenes and ways that were novel and strange to him. The boats went up the Hayes at about three miles an hour, hauled by the Red River boatmen who were harnessed like horses to a long towing line attached to the gunwales. They were often up to their waists in water and they laboured from dawn to dusk 'for very small wages and very bad provisions'. They had no rest on the sabbath, which Jones found trying — whether to them or himself he does not say. On Sundays, when he could, he walked ahead and alone, or retired into the woods to recite the service for the day.

They reached Norway House on 1 October and at noon the same day entered the 'great Lake Winipig'. There they were storm-bound by high winds for seven days and, on the Sunday, Jones 'spent the morning in the hut with some of the boatmen to whom I read and expounded a chapter.'

The twenty-five-year-old missionary arrived at the Red River Settlement about four in the afternoon of 14 October 1823. That evening he was received kindly at Fort Garry by George Simpson who was at that time Governor of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land for the Hudson's Bay Company. Until his parsonage should be ready, Jones was invited to live with Robert Parker Pelly, Governor of the colony, at Fort Douglas.

Meanwhile, several people were busy 'mudding' the Church Missionary Society's buildings, filling up the spaces between the logs with Red River gumbo to shut out the winter's cold, snow, and wind. Low temperatures hardened the muck; but spring and summer rains so eroded it that 'mudding' was a regular autumn chore.

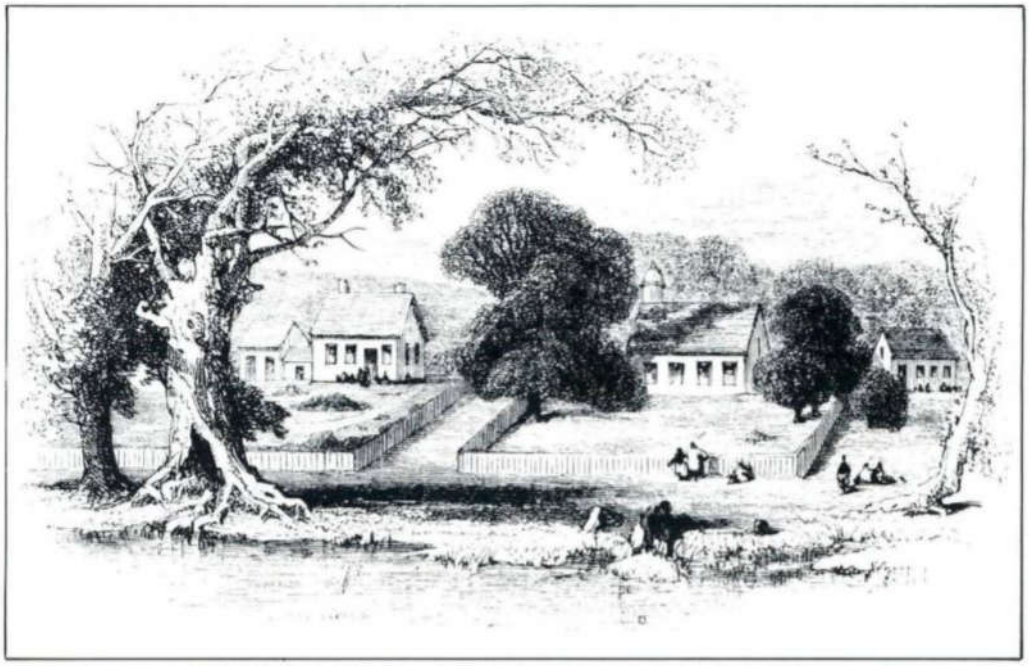
Jones moved into his modest manse in the first week of November and on the same day Chief 'Pigwys' (Peguis) called to get rum. The clergyman countered with a request for boys from his tribe for the Mission school. The Saulteaux chief's reply is a thoughtful reflection on the meeting of different cultures.

'I have listened very much to what you say, and they are fine promises: we want our children to become like white people, to get plenty of Indian corn, wheat, and potatoes; for since you white people have got our lands, we are very poor. Before that we had plenty — our rivers were full of fish, and we always conquered our enemies; but now the white people promise much and give nothing.

'And now you come and want our children, but I do not know what to say, for I hear so many reports, one saying one thing, and another another thing, that I am quite distracted and know not whom to believe. Last year a new chief came, now he is gone and another is come, I do not know what to do of all this changing, but I shall see how things will go on. I will call my people together when I go home and tell them what you say.'

Two 'very proud & haughty' young boys from Chief Peguis's band came to the Church Missionary Society's school in 1826.

A staple food of the Indian school while it was under Jones's supervision was pemmican. The buffalo hunts which originated from the Assiniboine-Red River base were not always successful, and according to Jones's diary the expedition in the fall of 1825 must have been a terrible ordeal. That year the buffalo hunt was a total failure and the Métis who had



The Indian settlement and church (later known as St Peter's) c. 1835. From S. Tucker's 'The Rainbow in the North', 1853 London edition.

ranged far out onto the buffalo plains survived the bitter homeward trek by eating the carcasses of their dogs and horses, their buffalo robes, their leather tents and their shoes.

That news prompted Jones to enter in the journal: 'May this severe lesson teach the thoughtless Canadian H. Breeds to turn their attention to diligence & industry on their farms.' These people seemed to be beyond the understanding and sympathies of the young Welshman who was brought up to farming, ordained in the Church of England, and parson to Gaelic-speaking Scottish Presbyterians. Like the Indian nomads who periodically visited the settlement and whose conjuring drums and Bacchanalian revels offended the missionary's senses, he considered the hunters to be idle, roving, imprudent, and in times of want, even threatening and dangerous.

Near the end of November, the river froze. Snow whitened the plains and blanketed the riverside trails. Boats and water-craft were dragged up on dry land, and sleighs and sleds were got ready. A winter river road was marked with brush so that it could be seen at night. Jones's parishioners came in carrioles drawn by Indian dogs that howled and barked in chorus all through the Sunday service.

When winter's grip weakened in March, the roads became muddy and impassable, and water, gathering on the river ice, made travel difficult and occasionally perilous. Once during an early mid-March thaw, Jones had to leave horse and carriole and struggle along the river for three miles through a foot and a half of slush to a church gathering at Image Plains, (now known as Middlechurch). Another time, while returning home alone from the Lower Fort, his horse crashed through the middle of the river where 'the rush of water under the ice was tremendous'. Somehow he scrambled out of the carriole and rescued himself and his animal.

Winter fuel at three to four shillings a cord was rafted to the mission. A cord measured eight feet long, four high and four wide; in the formidable cold and sometimes boisterous weather of January and February, an inside fireplace could often consume more than a cord a day and warm only whatever side a person faced to the fire. In those days a cord of wood cost as much as three or four pounds of butter, or as much as sixteen to twenty quarts of milk; it represented a day's wages. Since the only available fuel was wood, the stands of trees along the banks above and below the forks were eventually cut down and never replaced.

Jones's first winter was the coldest that he was ever to experience in the settlement and he reports that on 1 February 1824, the mercury in his thermometer froze at -48°F., or -44°C. The chimneys above the huge fires were made of clay and held and supported by a framework of sticks. If the blaze burned through to the wood or if it reached the insulating shavings underneath the floor planks, that was the end of hearth and home.

The summer's wood supply was sledded over the winter road, dumped at the foot of the river bank, and then carried to the top before break-up in April. Blocks of ice were cut and dragged up to line the floor

and walls of an ice cellar for meat, fish and fowl. Jones marvelled at the thousands of swans, pelicans, geese, and other water birds that flew north.

The spring of 1825 was welcome to Jones, for during the deep cold he had coughed up some blood; now he hoped that he might be able to withstand the hot season.

Governor George Simpson thought that Jones was measuring up to the first opinion that he had formed of him and that he was zealous in his duties, correct and exemplary in his behaviour, and popular with the Scottish settlers. 'He is quite a youth and wants a knowledge and experience of the world, so that he is not much assistance in Council, but means well.'

Jones, in his report, observed that Simpson had been 'very constant in his attendance at Church all the winter'. Both were in each other's eyes models of propriety.

During April and early May the settlers began to hoe and plough; they planted garden seeds, sowed their barley, wheat, and potatoes and led their cattle, which had been driven north from St Louis, onto the nearby plains to graze. 'Many of the settlers' wrote Jones, 'have sown wheat in the same ground for eleven years, and the last crop was as luxuriant as ever.' The early sowing was in hopes of an early reaping; for by July, of the previous year's harvest of potatoes, wheat and barley, sometimes only that put aside for seed remained; this meant short rations. The colony's residents turned to the river's fisheries. In May sturgeon from sixty to a hundred pounds were caught at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, or below the rapids at present-day Lockport. Their oil fuelled the settlement's lamps, and the roe was dried and preserved. Catfish from eight to ten pounds were taken during the summer months.

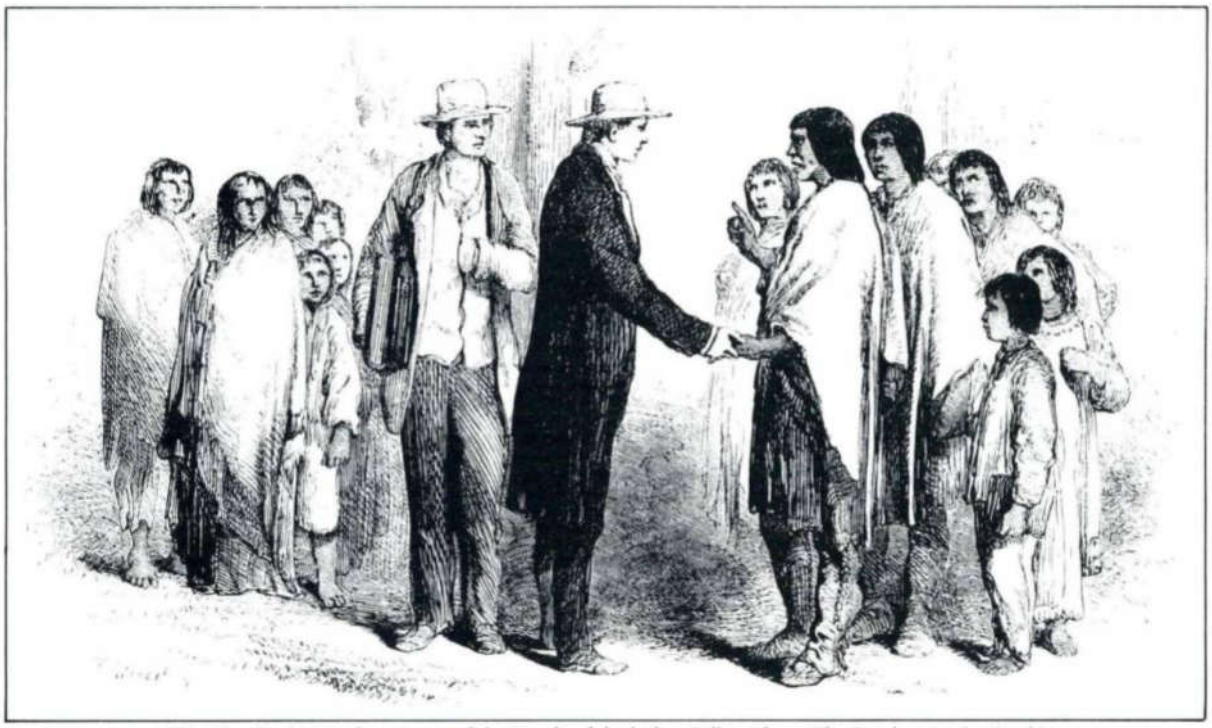
In July, during Jones's first summer at the settlement, lumber rafts were guided downriver to Image Plains where in mid-August Jones built a church. Thus, on Sundays, he preached in two churches which were about ten miles apart; then he returned to teach catechism at the Indian School in the evening. Twice a week he lectured to church groups: on Tuesdays at Image Plains and on Wednesdays at the Upper Church. Also there were Sunday schools and parish day schools to supervise; and of course visits to the sick and other clerical duties.

His allowance from the Church Missionary Society was £150 per annum; Jones wrote that he did not think it was enough. 'The call for charity in the hard season of winter is more than I can meet — and there is a degree of respectability to be kept up.' Reverend Jones did not wish to seem, in his own or in his parishioners' eyes, an object of contempt.

Jones was busy; yet he felt lonely. On 31 August 1824 he wrote to the Society: 'I hope I may express a wish that the committee will ere long send a fellow labourer to this part of the vineyard. I assure you that he will find employment. One alone in such a moral wilderness as this, unless he is of an extraordinary texture of mind feels the effect of solitude . . . I wish a brother to commune with and to take counsel

This unfinished pencil sketch by Peter Rindisbacher is considered to be the only known picture of the record Red River flood of 1826. It was done from the river opposite the Upper Church. Note the absence of shoreline, and the horizon of the flood just above the small building.

Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta



'The Rev. D. Jones taking Leave of the People of the Indian Village' from 'The Rainbow in the North'.

together.' The following year the Society sent out William Cockran.

August was the ripening month for the main food crops: corn, peas, beans, lentils, wheat and barley; and for the wild grasses on the prairies just west of the settlement. These were the months when plants came to fruition; but they were also the months when early frosts could ravage the grain, when high winds could shake out the barley, or when rodents or flocks of blackbirds could consume fields of wheat sheaves.

'Mice' wrote Cockran, 'are excellent reapers; they cut it very near the ground; and when they have made an ear of corn fall, they eat it, and cut the straw into pieces about three inches long.' One way to protect the harvest from mice was to put it up high on stages.

The most deadly and frightening enemy was a creeping prairie fire that fed quietly for days on the acres of dry grass or swamp reeds to the west until suddenly raised by north winds into flames that swept through stacks of hay and grain. Bare ploughed ground lying between the prairies and the river checked the fire's advance on the settlers' homes.

Before October was out, given fine weather, the wheat was stacked, the root cellars filled with potatoes, the peas and lentils set to dry; and the boat brigades with letters, goods, supplies and newcomers, had arrived from York Factory. Once again in November preparations were made for the hard season: shelters erected for cattle; animals slaughtered, butchered, then covered and preserved in November snow until their removal to ice cellars in April; titameg and whitefish were caught, frozen fresh at Lake 'Manito-Bah' and hauled to the settlement; boats were pulled up the banks and sleighs and carrioles got out. Once again living quarters were mudded and sealed for the winter round.

The greatest natural disaster that Jones describes is the great flood of 1826. During the winter of 1825-26, the longest and the most severe 'within the memory of the oldest inhabitant', a prodigious quantity of snow fell which lay on the plains until May. The river ice, four feet thick, held firm until that month too, though it was lifted nearly to the level of the bank by the swollen waters beneath. Then, on 1 May, warm weather came with a rush.

In two days the river rose six feet and at 8 p.m. on 3 May Jones noted: 'The ice has just started towards the lake.' In the evening several people came to take refuge about the church, for it was the highest spot in the settlement.

The river kept climbing until 20 May, sending huge blocks of ice smashing into the lofty elm trees and carrying them away 'like the most inconsiderable twigs'. Swirling away with them were the ruins of buildings, parts of haystacks, packages and boxes.

On Saturday, 13 May, water trickled over the threshold of the Upper Church. Floating across the

Public Archives of Canada

The stone Upper Church (later St John's) built by Jones in 1833 to replace West's log church. Timber buttresses necessary to reinforce its weak foundations are visible in this 1858 photo by H. L. Hime.

western plain, north along what now would be Salter Street in Winnipeg, were 'an immense number of log-houses . . . one of the watch towers of Fort Garry . . . a whole range of stockades from before New Fort Douglas.' By Sunday there were three and a half feet of water in the church. A stage about thirty feet square had been built and there 'at 11 we had service . . . when Mr. Cockran addressed the Indian School.' All about them, as far as they could see, was water.

They secured their property in the loft of the church which was then but six feet above the height of the flood. On 15 May a settler came alongside the stage with a boat and took Jones, the Cockrans, and some servants to high ground near the Assiniboine where about 700 persons, mostly 'Canadians & Half Breeds' were assembled. The colony's new governor, Donald McKenzie, was here with the Company's boats and goods. Next day Jones picked up the Indian schoolchildren and after that he collected all the mission furniture and property, for the river had come up two feet more and swept away the stockades around the churchyard and the mission garden. He feared the church itself might be destroyed.

On 19 May the wind strengthened to a hurricane and ripped Jones's tent to shreds. In the morning, Jones looked through a spyglass at the church. It and the parsonage and the schoolmaster's house still stood, but the servants' house, a small house where the Indian children slept, the stable and the cow houses had all been carried off.

Next day the waters began to drop slowly, by inches. Although there were several feet of water on the mission premises at the beginning of June, Jones moved back to protect their belongings from the Canadians 'who seemed resolved to pilfer everything they could lay their hand upon.'

By 12 June the Red was once more within its banks. Although some of the settlers remained in a camp at the Cedar Hills, as Bird's Hill was then called, others had returned to their farms and were at work behind the plough.

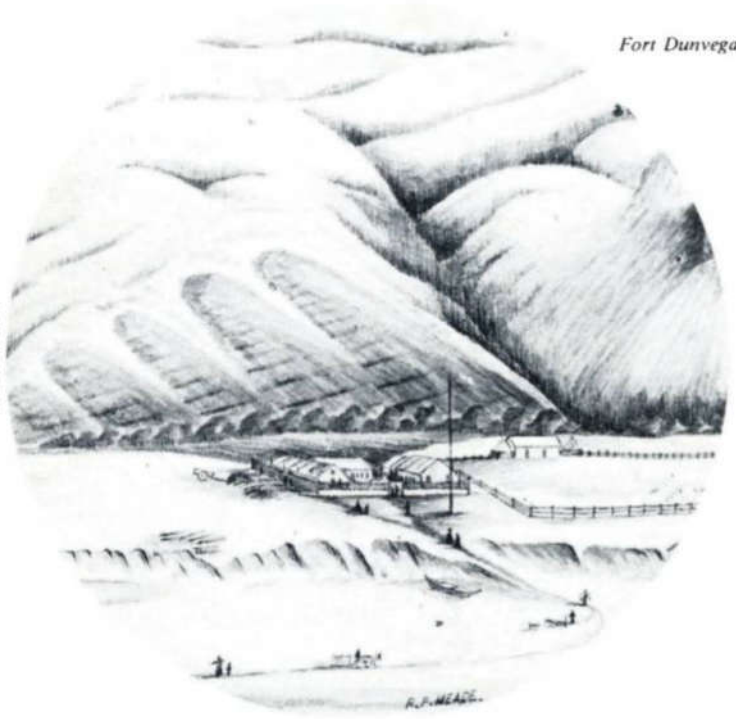
Two years later, in the summer of 1828, Jones travelled to England and brought a wife back to the Red River. Some years after that when Jones had founded the Red River Academy and was closely associated with the aristocracy of the Northwest, the chief factors and chief traders of the Hudson's Bay Company; and when Cockran was at the Rapids where the Indian School had been relocated, the latter wrote a complaining epistle to the Church Missionary Society: 'Our unfortunate brother Jones seems so captivated by the world as to have lost all the sacred halo that ought to adorn the missionary character. . . . His leisure time is spent in giving dinners, and attending "Pick Nick Parties", so that he has no time to pay me a visit. When I call on him, he is laid under an unpleasant restraint. . . . Cast your eyes upon a clergyman that is totally a man of fashion, and there you have a counterpart of our unfortunate brother. . . . He has been in a deep declension ever since he was married.'

That is certainly too harsh a comment on Mary Jones who was a great support to her husband in his labours at the Upper Church and who, as much as he, ought to be considered a founder of the Red River Academy. Certainly from 1832 on, many of the pages in Jones's diaries are taken up with the academy's affairs, and when his wife died in 1836, he felt incapable of carrying on any work in the settlement and decided to leave.

On 31 May 1838, he wrote: 'This day I left my poor parsonage! The scenes of my happiest and my saddest hours.' He moved with his five children to Lower Fort Garry, and from there they departed Saturday, 11 August 1838. 'Was up with daylight and putting all in order. At eight in the morning we were told that all was ready and we embarked. When the Stone Fort was out of sight I felt as if relieved of a very heavy burden, for I am heartily tired of crying scenes. . . . Reached the mouth of the lake and pitched our tents for the first time. . . . There was a gale from the North and the breakers roared near our canvas habitations . . . the children bewildered.'

They all reached York Factory safely by the end of the month. 'My children I have had to dress, undress and wash with my own hands, and the cries of the little one for milk often distressed me. But these are minor trials, and the Lord has dealt bountifully with us.'

The *Prince of Wales* sailed on 17 September and the Jones family was landed at Deal in Dover a month later. David Jones never returned to the Red River. He died in 1844 at Lampeter in Wales. ◆



HBC Collection

Fort Dunvegan c. 1866, from a water-colour by R. P. Meade.

Eric J. Holmgren was, until his recent retirement, Heritage Historian, Provincial Archives of Alberta. He and his wife Patricia compiled the volume 'Over 2000 Place Names of Alberta'.

Quotations from the journals are by courtesy of the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

FORT DUNVEGAN

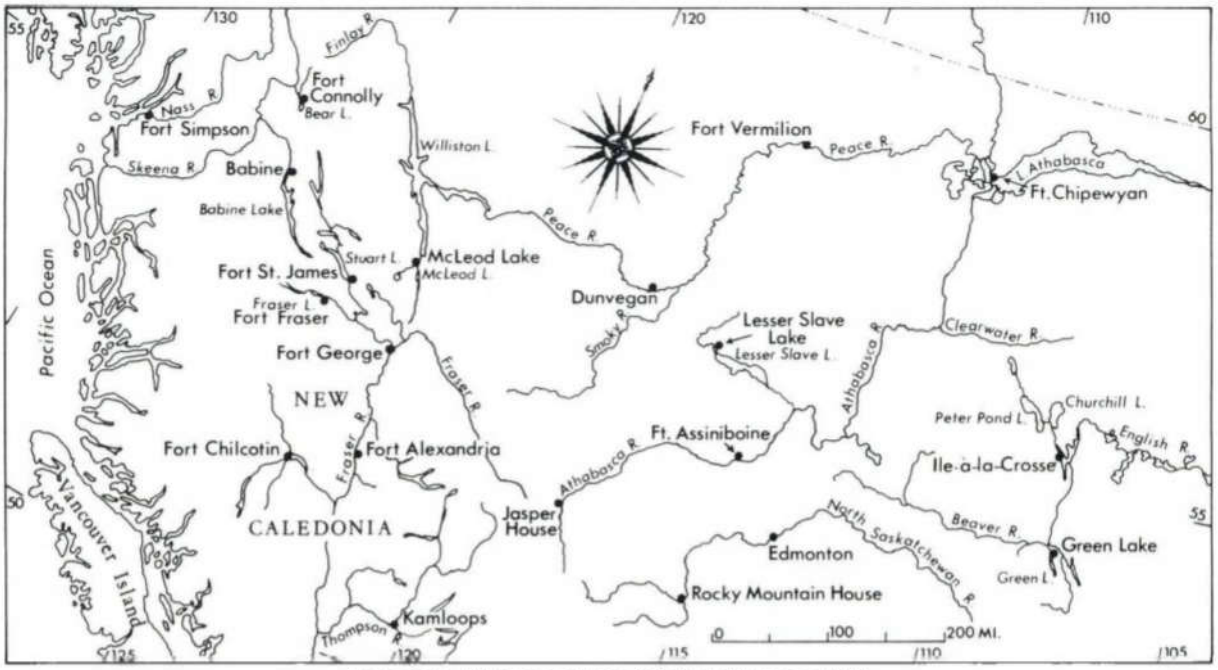
By Eric J. Holmgren

THE TOURIST of the 1980s driving north on Alberta Highway No 2 from Grande Prairie towards Peace River notices, after passing the village of Rycroft, that the road dips and he comes suddenly upon a suspension bridge spanning the river. Once across the bridge he sees a sign pointing towards Dunvegan, which can be reached by turning off the road and driving beneath the bridge. The Dunvegan Historic Site marks both the St Charles Mission and the site of Fort Dunvegan. Of the mission, the church remains; of Dunvegan, the post that once controlled the fur trade of the upper Peace River, only an old house, the factor's house, still stands.

Fort Dunvegan was founded in 1805 by the North West Company as its post on the upper Peace River. It was built by Archibald Norman McLeod who named it for his ancestral home of Clan McLeod on the Isle of Skye. The name means literally 'the hill (or fort) of Began'. The site is some 92 kilometres (57 miles) upstream from the confluence of the Peace and Smoky rivers, in Section 7, Township 80, Range 4, West of the Sixth Meridian. It is an alluvial flat at the base of gently sloping hills that rise to a height of about 120 metres (400 feet) above the Peace. The attractive site impresses travellers now as it did in the early days of the fur trade. Samuel Black in his Rocky Mountain Journal (published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society) noted in 1824 on his journey to the Finlay River that:

> The Fort is erected near the Bank of the River to the West is an extensive & placid view of the River lost in the sweep of a distant blue Hill. . . . Near the establishment is a perpendicular brake of 4-500 feet high contrasted with an equally steep & high Pine Covered hill facing on the other side of the River giving an Idea of Romantic beauty to the place.

The North West Company had been early into the Peace River country, although it is not clear exactly when they came. From what evidence is available it would appear that it was about 1788 when one Boyer of the North West Company built the 'Old Establishment' near the mouth of the Boyer River not far from



Posts of the Athabasca and New Caledonia districts, c. 1832.

the present Fort Vermilion. Exploration and fur trading were very much part of the picture; Fort Chipewyan came into being in 1789 and the push upstream in an effort to find a way to the Pacific came to the fore. It was in 1792 that Alexander (later Sir Alexander) Mackenzie built Fort Fork at the confluence of the Peace and Smoky rivers from which, the following year, he launched his celebrated journey to the Pacific. It was not until after 1800 that others were to follow. Daniel Williams Harmon was at Dunvegan in 1808. The earliest references to the name Dunvegan appear in a journal kept by John Stuart at Rocky Mountain Portage further up river, and in a journal entry by Simon Fraser dated 14 April 1806. Dunvegan was the base from which Fraser commenced his exploration of New Caledonia (northern British Columbia) as well as his journey down the river that now bears his name.

The importance of Dunvegan was apparent from the time of its founding. The North West Company required a post to be the centre of the fur trade of the upper Peace and to serve as a base for exploration and development of New Caledonia. Although Fort Chipewyan was the centre of the fur trade for the Athabasca District, it was over 600 kilometres (400 miles) from Dunvegan. Clearly, it was necessary to shorten the lines of communication, and a post strategically located as was Dunvegan would facilitate the collection of the furs from the upper Peace and New Caledonia. It would also serve notice to the arch-rival of the Nor'Westers, the Hudson's Bay Company, that the wintering partners regarded this as their sole preserve. Dunvegan was to serve them well and, after 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Nor'Westers had the trade almost entirely to themselves in the first decade of the nineteenth century and likely considered their position secure. Nevertheless they remained watchful. The Hudson's Bay Company was already making inroads to Peace River and to stop them the wintering partners used every means fair and foul. But the men from the Bay persevered and by 1815 were beginning, with some success, to make their presence felt.

The North West Company controlled the access to New Caledonia by the Peace River and by the Yellowhead Pass, known then as Leather Pass. There seemed to be no way that their rivals could enter New Caledonia. In 1818 the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort St Mary's at the junction of the Peace and Smoky, whereupon the Nor'Westers built a house on the opposite bank of the Peace. There they stationed a man to spy on the opposition. During the winter of 1819-20 Ignace Giasson, acting upon instructions from Colin Robertson, quietly slipped away from Fort St Mary's and with a party of voyageurs guided by Pierre Hatsinaton (also known as 'Tete Jaune'), travelled up the Smoky to its source and so across the Continental Divide by Robson Pass. It was to come as no small surprise to the wintering partners to learn — as they inevitably did — that their rivals had entered New Caledonia; the Nor'Westers never did find out precisely how they got there.

H.B.C. Collection

Fort Dunvegan viewed from the north-west, September 1891. The St Charles Mission is on the left.

The union of the two companies in 1821 brought changes. St Mary's was closed and Dunvegan, taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company, continued its role as the centre of the fur trade for the upper Peace and a staging point to New Caledonia. Although matters improved under Governor George Simpson, all was not peaceful. In 1824 four Hudson's Bay men at Fort St John were murdered by Beaver Indians in retaliation for the threatened closure of some of the posts. The Company closed Dunvegan the following year as a reprisal, hoping that the peaceful natives would apprehend the murderers. By 1826 there were signs that those Indians who had not taken part in the murders would welcome the reopening of the post, and in the Minutes of Council of the Northern Department for that year Chief Factor A. Stewart was instructed to use discretion in doing so. In 1827 it was announced that: 'C.F. [Chief Factor] A. Stewart be directed to retain 3 men for the purpose of re-establishing Fort Dunvegan at the Falls [Forks] of the Smoky River.'

Dunvegan was, however, reopened at its original site in 1828 and it was in May of that year that Colin Campbell arrived to take charge.

Part of the history of Fort Dunvegan is to be found in three manuscript journals preserved in the Provincial Archives of Alberta. These journals cover the years 1828-1830, 1839-1842 and 1853-1855. Colin Campbell kept the first part and most of the second. Francis Butcher, who succeeded Campbell, wrote the remainder of the second part while Henry Maxwell, who followed Butcher, penned the third part. There are gaps for the years between the three parts but journals for these are extant in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Nonetheless, the journals mentioned here contain much useful information about the role of Dunvegan and life at a trading post of its size. Although Dunvegan was not a major post, it was important as the centre of the fur trade of the upper Peace and the gathering point for leather and pack cord for shipment to New Caledonia.

The journals — in amazingly good condition — were found in 1926 in a rubbish heap on the river bank at Dunvegan and were ultimately conveyed to the Alberta Provincial Library (now the Legislature Library) where they remained until 1973 when they were transferred to the Provincial Archives.

The first journal begins on 11 May 1828, when Colin Campbell arrived to reopen the post after its three-year closure as a result of the massacre at Fort St John. Campbell was no stranger to the fur trade nor to Athabasca. He was born about 1787 at River Beaudette, in Glengarry, Upper Canada, and in 1804 entered the service of the North West Company as a clerk. He was to spend almost his entire career in the Athabasca District as an employee of, first the North West Company and after 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1828 he was appointed chief trader and dispatched to Dunvegan and it is at this important moment in the history of Dunvegan that the first journal begins:

Sunday, 11th May, 1828

> Arrived here the ninth day (from Fort Vermilion) about 1 o'clock p.m. in an large canoe, much embarrassed with goods, food, private property, etc. etc. The crew — Bte. Lafleur, Interpreter, I. Bte. Errand Engage, Ber Mannville (a Ft. Vermilion man who came to assist us up and is to return immediately), Charles Lefleur and A. Pagé freeman and a Beaver Indian — Passengers — C. Campbell and family consisting of woman and six children. Found the buildings in a very ruinous condition —numerous tracks of buffalos, moose, etc. around the fort.

This was the group that arrived to reopen Dunvegan and, with the exception of Bernard Mannville, immediately set to work to rehabilitate the post.

Apart from Campbell the most interesting individual in the group was 'Bte. Lafleur, Interpreter'. J. Baptiste Lafleur figures prominently in the pages of these journals as interpreter and, in effect, second in command to the chief trader, and it appears that his services were highly prized. Lafleur served Campbell, Butcher and Maxwell in turn; Maxwell refers to him as 'old Lafleur'. Campbell mentions Lafleur as having some 25 years of service by 1828 and gives his age as about 40, but Campbell's listing of his age may have been a guess; nowhere else in the Hudson's Bay records does his age appear. He remained at Dunvegan until 1855 and was to retire on 1 June 1857, according to documents in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. His name appears in subsequent years and it seems that he was re-engaged annually. Lafleur was a tower of strength to all three chief traders.

At the time that Campbell arrived at Dunvegan, the Hudson's Bay Company had entered into what was to be the most prosperous period of the fur trade. The carnage that had resulted from the struggle prior to 1821 had vanished and under the firm hand of Governor George (later Sir George) Simpson, returns had greatly improved and a general air of well-being had settled over the trade. Campbell's first tasks at Dunvegan were to rehabilitate the buildings, commence trade with the Indians and generally build up the trade in an area where it had been neglected. The buildings had become dilapidated during the three years that they were closed, and Campbell and his crew immediately commenced to make them as habitable as possible and eventually to build new ones. As he wrote on 15 May:

> All hands busily employed about the garden, repairing the most tenable of the buildings to store the company's property and to lodge ourselves.

At the same time Indians were hired to hunt for the post and some came in for ammunition and later sent word to Campbell that game had been killed. Campbell sent others out to pick up the meat, as this was the staple diet at Dunvegan. To supplement it, a large garden was planted. Campbell recorded on 21 May: 'Finished planting and sowing our seeds, say 10 kegs of potatoes, 1 keg barley, ¼ keg wheat with a few onions, raddish & carrot.'

On 30 May Campbell noted that some men from a party of Indians came in for a few supplies, presumably for hunting.

A summer routine had now settled over the post and Campbell and his people concentrated on rebuilding the post, looking after the garden and making hay. On 14 July he noted that: 'The men went to the small lakes above the hills to mow hay but rain stopped their work for the day. The hay is very thin and short.' Nonetheless the hay was duly harvested and stored at the post. Autumn followed with the harvesting of the crops and Campbell noted that frost had done some damage. Later in the autumn the Indians came in for trapping supplies and had to wait for a while until the outfit came.

That Dunvegan was very much part of the fur-trade network is revealed in Campbell's entry for 27 August 1828:

> In the afternoon was agreeably surprised by the arrival of the two canoes manned by 19 men — being Governor Simpson on his way to the Columbia via New Caledonia.

This was Simpson's famous journey of 1828 to the Columbia which took him and his party up the Peace and down the Fraser to Fort Langley, and at which time he wrote off the Fraser as a practical route. Campbell recorded that a party of Indians arrived and were astonished to see so many people:

> . . . as well as to hear the bugle sounding and the bag pipes etc etc. The Governors conversation with the Indians was very much to the purpose and must have great weight with them.

After that interlude the post settled down to fall and winter routine with the arrival of the outfit. When it came the Indians received their trade goods and departed to hunt and trap. During the winter the trapping was at its height and by spring the furs had been assembled and packed into 90-pound bales, and Campbell was ready to leave for Fort Chipewyan with the outfit. The fur trade that season had been good — over 500 beaver had been taken as well as other animals. By the spring of 1829, 41 packs of furs had been shipped out as well as pemmican and corn for Fort Chipewyan.

This, then, was the routine as revealed in the journals. The orderly routine and the aura of well-being did not last indefinitely however; George Simpson, for all his directives, could not correct every

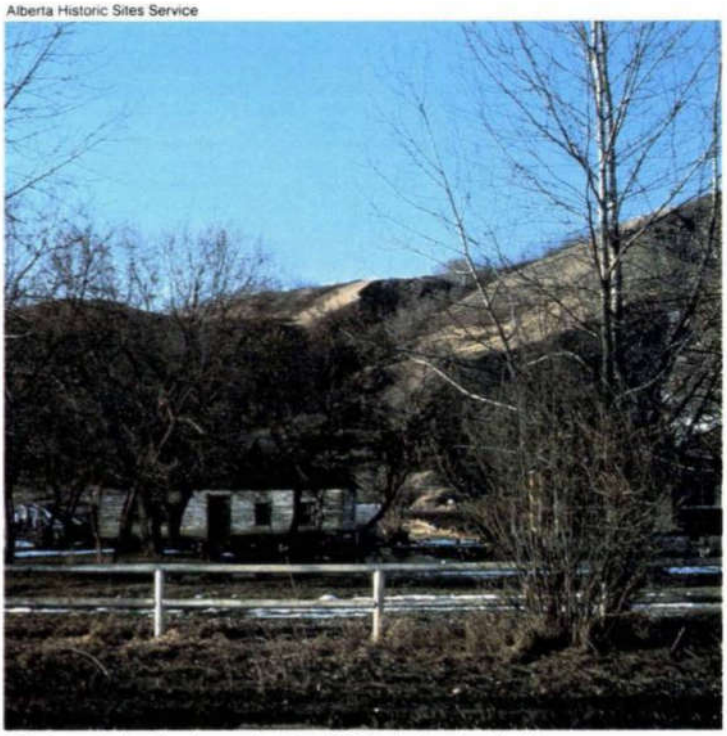
error of his underlings. Trade goods and supplies sometimes arrived in insufficient quantities, or were misdirected. Some goods were damaged by carelessness, and spoilage was common. Campbell noted on 14 October 1829 that the boat arrived with their outfit and that:

> 2 bags [musket] balls and 2 rolls tobacco remained at Fort Vermilion. . . . The property does not appear in very good order. The gunpowder is much damaged. One keg particularly is quite useless.

The lack of one roll of tobacco was perhaps a minor annoyance but shortage of powder and shot was a serious matter, as these were needed to procure fresh meat. There were other complaints as well: guns that broke, traps that would not hold and tools that were defective.

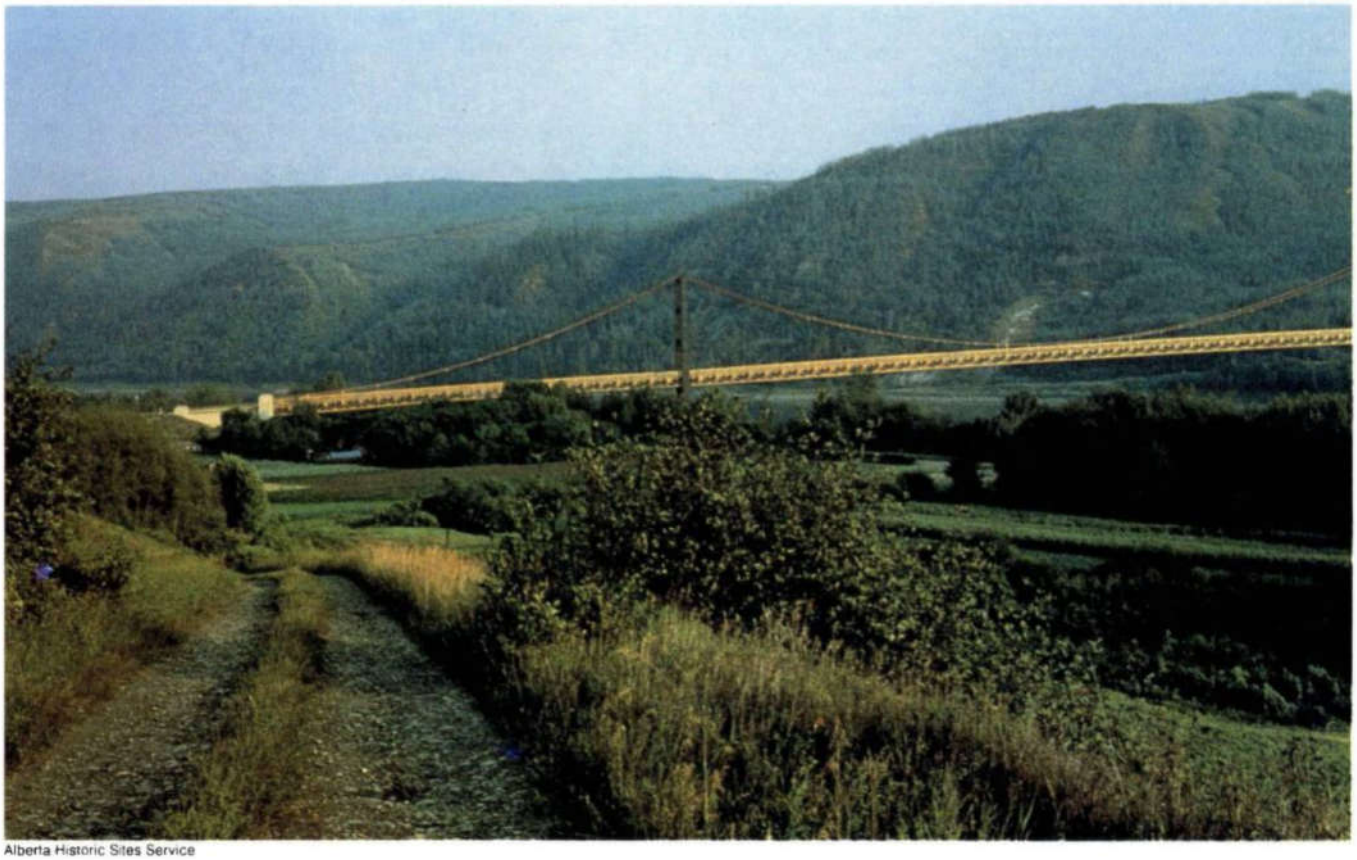
In spite of these problems Campbell managed to ship out a respectable showing of furs. By 1839 when he commenced the second part of the journal a firm routine had been established. Game was still fairly plentiful, beaver was still the principal fur resource, and the native people appeared contented. It was at

Alberta Historic Sites Service



The factor's dwelling house, built in 1879, is the last fort building still standing at Dunvegan. Although it is privately owned, the factor's house was designated a provincial historic resource in 1978.

The site of Fort Dunvegan viewed from the north-west, 1981. The factor's house is below and slightly to the left of the centre point of the bridge. The old Hudson's Bay Company road is in the foreground.



Alberta Historic Sites Service

E. Brown Collection, Provincial Archives of Alberta

The buildings at Fort Dunvegan c. 1904.

this period that Dunvegan reached its height as a trading post. There were, however, signs that all was not entirely well. By the middle of the 1830s buffalo were disappearing as the principal source of meat and leather. Hunting methods were wasteful; only the best portions were taken while the rest of the carcass was left to rot. Campbell noted for 16 January 1830:

> Our two Fort Hunters arrived & report of having killed 53 Buffalos — a great many more than we want & they are not fat enough to make dried provisions, so that the meat will be lost. The snow is so very deep that all large animals cannot run from the pursuers & there will be no doubt a great number wantonly killed. Although I do my best by persuasion to prevent it.

Fortunately, the lack of good leather and pack cord in the Peace River country was not serious, for by this time much of the supply for New Caledonia came via Lesser Slave Lake from Edmonton.

The winter of 1839-40 was a severe one. The fur trade was continuing but grease, leather and pack cord were in shorter supply than before.

The hunters at Fort Dunvegan were not as successful as earlier, Campbell noted, attributing this to the deep snow and cold together with what he considered the laziness and indifference of the hunters and trappers alike. But there were other factors, as Campbell recorded in his entry for 29 February 1840:

> The Troside & P. Hommes 1st Son arrived from L'Aigle, Neslar & LaMalice who are beyond the Bear Lake Mountain — they have done nothing in making Furs owing to starvation.

The hunters and trappers were starving and, in some instances, ill, and so were unable to hunt except for their families. The inescapable fact was that the depletion of game and fur-bearing animals was responsible for these shortages. Buffalo by then were no longer mentioned as the chief source of meat; moose became the staple and marten replaced beaver as the principal fur.

This was the situation toward the end of Campbell's tenure. As far as the residents of the fort were concerned their diet could be supplemented by the garden. Potatoes, root crops, barley and wheat were the main products of the garden for which Dunvegan became famous. Some of its produce was sent to places such as Fort Vermilion and Fort Chipewyan where crops could only be grown with difficulty, if at all. Meat was, however, still the main requirement.

Campbell remained at Dunvegan until October 1841, when he was succeeded by Francis Butcher. Butcher was born in London, England, c. 1810 and in 1833 entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He arrived at Fort Chipewyan in 1834 and remained there as a clerk until he came to Fort Dunvegan in 1841 to succeed Campbell. Campbell for his part returned to Fort Chipewyan and was placed in charge of the entire district. Butcher remained at Fort Dunvegan until 1850 when he was sent to Fort Chipewyan. He was promoted to chief trader there in 1852, was granted furlough in 1853-54 and then went to the Southern Department. In 1856 he retired from the service. Butcher, a hard-working, competent individual, arrived at Dunvegan at a fairly critical time although in his journal he makes little mention of starvation and scarcity of animals. It is, however, known from observations of others that these conditions existed. Eden Colvile, who was later

to become Governor of the Company, visited Dunvegan in August 1849 and in a subsequent letter noted that 'Butcher & his people lived for some time on dried suckers which appear to be about as nourishing as a pine shingle.'

Henry Maxwell, who kept the third journal now in the Provincial Archives of Alberta, arrived at Dunvegan in 1852. Maxwell was born in Montreal c. 1818 and entered the service in 1835. He served in New Caledonia, the Snake River country and the Columbia District before coming to Dunvegan. He was appointed chief trader in 1856. In 1857 he went to the Mackenzie River District and from 1859-64 was in the Ottawa country and Eastmain. He left the service in 1864. Maxwell was a rather careless individual and his diary reveals that he felt little loyalty to the Company. He continually dwelt upon the need to move Dunvegan as he notes in his entry for 19 January 1854: 'Hang this rascally place for an establishment. It ought to have been abandoned long ago.'

Starvation became acute in Maxwell's time and he and his staff were forced to subsist on rabbits during the winter of 1853-54.

From these journals it is readily apparent that those who lived at these smaller posts had to cope with starvation, illness, cold weather, dangers of injury, snow blindness, and worst of all, the isolation. Even Campbell commented upon this on Christmas Day, 1829: 'A lonely Christmas. Only 2 men and myself and the family at the fort.' It needed a resilient personality to survive.

In spite of all this the routine went on. But not long after Butcher took over, the first indications of new interests appeared. On 15 December 1841, Butcher noted: 'Arrived the Rev. Mr. Evans missionary.' A Methodist missionary, James Evans was journeying through the north on a tour for his church. In 1855 Henry Maxwell noted the arrival of 'Rev. Mr. LeComble' — Father Albert Lacombe who was to become famous in the annals of Alberta.

By 1860 the winds of change blew stronger. It was clearly apparent that the fur trade was in decline. Dunvegan's importance as a staging point to New Caledonia had diminished, for that area was becoming more accessible from the Pacific coast with the building of the Caribou Road and steamboat transport on the upper Fraser from Soda Creek. Even then prospectors from British Columbia were panning the upper Peace for gold.

In 1870 Rupert's Land became part of the Dominion of Canada. In 1872 Charles Horetzky travelled through the Dunvegan area while searching for a route for the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1875 Alfred C. R. Selwyn, director of the Geological Survey of Canada, arrived at the post while on a resource-finding mission. Then in 1879 George Mercer Dawson of the Geological Survey passed through on his amazing journey from Fort Simpson on the Pacific coast to Edmonton. While at Dunvegan he commented on the garden there. It was Dawson who took the well-known photograph of Dunvegan showing the old buildings dating from Campbell's time, the gardens, and the new factor's house built in 1879 and still standing in 1981.

In 1886 Lesser Slave Lake became the centre of operation and Dunvegan a mere outpost. In spite of this change Dunvegan still carried on as a trading post. Permanent missionary activity was in evidence with the St Charles Mission built by Father Christoph Tissier O.M.I. in 1866, and St Saviour's Anglican Mission established in 1878 by Thomas Bunn, a teacher, who was later to be followed by the Reverend J. Gough Brick and the Reverend A. C. Garrioch, who was a grandson of Colin Campbell.

The turn of the century brought more changes. The vanguard of the settlers into the Peace River area had begun; Dunvegan became a stopping place and a source of supplies. In 1905 the Province of Alberta came into being and three years later the town of Grande Prairie sprang up. In 1909 a ferry was installed at Dunvegan, for it was by then an important crossing on the route to the Grande Prairie area. Three years later Dunvegan became the centre of a land boom conducted by absentee speculators in Edmonton in the hope that the Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia Railway then building would cross the river at that point. But in 1916 that railway reached the new station at Fairview just north of Waterhole, 19 kilometres (12 miles) from Dunvegan.

Two years later the venerable post was finally closed, ending a long and honourable chapter in the fur trade annals.

The visitor to Dunvegan today will see the river, flowing as it did when the post was first founded, and on the flat once occupied by the garden of the post, a flourishing market garden. The factor's house, last remnant of Fort Dunvegan, lies close to the present owner's modern home. Near by stand the buildings of the St Charles Mission, closed in 1903 and restored by the Alberta government; no buildings remain of the Anglican mission closed in 1891. The ferry too has yielded to progress and in its place a modern suspension bridge, opened in 1960, carries traffic across the Peace River. There is talk of a dam on the Peace above Dunvegan. At the site the Alberta Historic Sites Service operates an interpretive centre which reminds the visitor that here once stood part of a vast fur-trading enterprise that stretched from sea to sea.◆

THE COVENANT CHAIN
Indian Ceremonial and Trade Silver

By N. Jaye Fredrickson; catalogue of the exhibition by Sandra Gibb. National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, 1980. 168 pp., illus. $24.95 cloth; $17.95 paper.

Reviewed by Francis Jennings

This handsome book must be approached with an understanding of the different values of its distinct parts. In display and annotation of an exhibition of trade silver it is greatly superior to its merits as history. The distinction is neatly reflected in the title. Its *Indian Ceremonial and Trade Silver* part is valuable. Its *Covenant Chain* part reaches for more than the book holds. None of the book's reproductions of silver has any direct relevance to the historical Covenant Chain except perhaps the Quakers' medal of 1757 which was part of a challenge to the Chain's arrangements of power. The book's strained references to the Covenant Chain must rest on its assumption that 'symbolically' the Chain 'has come to mean much more' than its historical identity. I don't agree.

The catalogue part is beautiful and informative. It includes clear, well-printed pictures of medals, brooches, head-, arm-, and legbands, crosses, gorgets, church ceremonial utensils, earrings, pendants, and colour portraits of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Indians bedecked in silver ornaments. Especially noteworthy are the pages of work done by modern Iroquois silversmiths which show both the continuation of European design traditions and the introduction of new motifs of distinctively Iroquois origin. Comparison of these modern works with the older ones shows clearly how very European were the styles of the colonial silversmiths. If they adapted some of their work to Indian usage, as with headbands, the designs upon it came from Europe. One cannot properly agree with Ms Fredrickson (p. 21) that 'silversmithing took its place among the arts developed by the mingling of these two cultures' in the colonial period; not until the twentieth century did Indian smiths do the mingling.

What are those European designs? There are Masonic emblems of compass and square, heart-shaped brooches in the 'Luckenbooth' motifs of Scotland, a variety of Christian crosses, gorgets adapted from ornamental armor, medals with European monarchs patronizing Indian chiefs, and an assortment of brooches in styles

MAXINE NOEL

"THE BASKET WEAVER"
7 color
original serigraph
19 x 25 inches
edition of 100
issue price $150.

Maxine, a Santee-Oglala Sioux, signs her works with her Indian name IOYAN MANI, which means "Walk Beyond".

Her perception of life is especially feminine: imbued with feeling which is never distorted by sentimentality, nor is it fragile. Feeling in her paintings is combined with the tensile strength of people and creatures in tune with the natural world.

THE BEARCLAW GALLERY
9724 - 111th Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta T5G 0B1
(403) 479-8502

NICHOLAS ART GALLERY
5 Nicholas Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B6
(613) 232-6515

ART FRAME GALLERY
Box 1537
Belleville, Ontario K8N 5J2
(613) 962-5669

that were used for horse-harness ornaments when worked in brass. The specifically Iroquois symbols of turtle and pine tree of peace do not appear in the colonial work pictured here.

The text is vaguely right and specifically wrong in its discussion of the Covenant Chain. Its cited 1618 date for the Chain's origin is taken from an Indian oral tradition that extrapolates backward in time from the Chain's recorded founding in Albany in 1677. The Chain was a political confederation embracing English colonies (with New York pre-eminent in the early phase) and Indian 'nations' (with the Iroquois League pre-eminent). It seems to have broken up about the time of the American Revolution.

On some other matters the text does better. It is right about the importance of silver in the inter-societal trade, and of the trade for the prosperity of silversmithing. It discusses in an interesting way how medals were distributed, and their functions. But it seems to me to impose ill-understood acculturation theory upon a minuscule amount of historical research. Acculturation implies change of existing ways, not merely cosmetic addition such as the accumulation of exotic ornaments used in traditional ways.

For what it does well, the book is worth while, and a joy to look at.

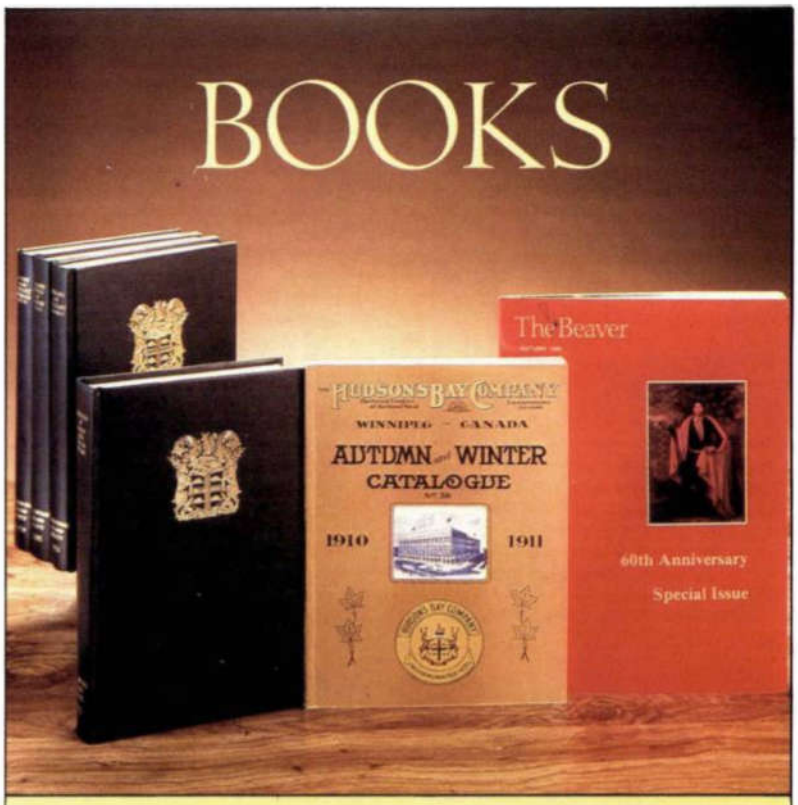
Dr Jennings recently retired as Director of The Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian, Chicago.

PASSIONATE SPIRITS
A History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1880-1980

By Rebecca Sisler. Clarke, Irwin & Company, Toronto/Vancouver, 1980. 296 pp., illus. $24.50.

Reviewed by
David W. Rozniatowski

The history of Canadian art offers so much territory still to be explored in the literature that the appearance of a new volume is always welcome. It is regrettable, therefore, that Rebecca Sisler's history of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, published in 1980, the centenary of the Academy's founding by the Marquis of Lorne, does not merit an unreservedly enthusiastic response.



HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

Since 1938 the Hudson's Bay Record Society has published selected manuscripts from the historic records of the Hudson's Bay Company. Over thirty volumes have appeared, each in a limited edition available only to members of the Society.

In these handsome books the story of the fur trade and exploration and settlement of the country is told firsthand through the letters and journals of men who served the Company. Each volume is prepared with care under the direction of a general editor and includes an introduction by an expert in the field.

Membership is $10.00 per year with a volume published every two years. For membership information and a complete list of publications and back issues, write to the address below.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CATALOGUE
Autumn and Winter 1910-1911

This handsome reproduction of a rare HBC mail-order catalogue offers a nostalgic look into the lives of our grandparents. A valuable research tool, a useful teaching aid for schools and an exciting gift for all those interested in another era.

Published 1977. 260 pp., illus.
Softcover $6.95

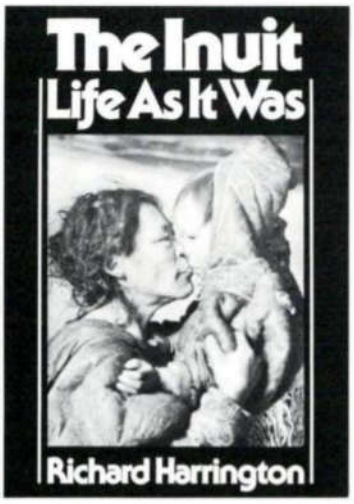
THE BEAVER, AUTUMN 1980
60th Anniversary Special Issue

Commemorative issue containing reprints of 13 articles — a balanced sampling of the lively and authoritative articles that have been gathered together in the pages of *The Beaver* over the past six decades.

80 pp., illus.
Softcover $2.00

Available from The Beaver. Order form on subscription insert.

Recently Published



Richard Harrington's photographs of Canada's Inuit are tender, haunting and achingly beautiful. Their hardships, their courage, their quiet dignity, are portrayed with infinite compassion and devastating honesty.

These are images you will never forget.

Lorraine Monk
National Film Board

In the text that accompanies the photographs, Harrington shares fascinating details and insights into a remarkable stone-age culture that endured into the twentieth century.

The Inuit
Life As It Was

$14.95 Paperback Edition
$19.95 Hardcover Edition

Now available at all book and department stores.

HURTIG

As actual history, the book is fair and objective in its appraisal of the triumphs and failures of the Academy and its members. Ms Sisler's style of writing, although hampered by a predilection for hackneyed metaphors and a distressing abundance of sentence fragments beginning with 'And' or 'But', carries the historical narrative along at a good pace. Herself a sculptor and executive director of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Sisler has a flair for concise delineation of character in a few sentences, and for an effective use of anecdote. Edmund Dyonnet's race against time to organize an R. C. A. exhibition in England in 1910 is described with a suspenseful quality worthy of Alfred Hitchcock, and for those who enjoy a slapstick finale, there is the episode of an unpopular head-table guest being hit in the face with a large cream cake at the Academy's ninety-eighth annual dinner.

What could have been one of the book's best features is that by virtue of being a history of the R. C. A., it touches on many aspects of not only the fine arts, but also the applied arts. The Academy's disciplines now encompass not only painting, sculpture, and architecture, but a host of other endeavours from silversmithing to yacht design. Unfortunately, many fascinating aspects of Canadian art receive only superficial treatment in the text, but perhaps we should be surprised to find them included at all.

There are more serious flaws. While this is a history without tears for the general reader, students and researchers may feel inclined to sniffle over the fact that the book has neither footnotes nor bibliography, an absence which seriously weakens any claim it may have to academic respectability. The book does include a list of presidents and members of the R. C. A. from 1880 to 1979, an index to illustrations, and a general index.

There are some blatant errors that cast grave doubts on the ability of whoever edited the text before it went to press. For example, the reader will encounter 'Platoism' for Platonism, 'Christine Pflugg' for Christiane Pflug.

Is it possible for an art book to have too many illustrations? In this case, yes! One hundred and forty-two pages are devoted to full-page plates, many in colour, ranging in quality of reproduction from dreadful to excellent. In addition, many other illustrations, chiefly portraits of artists, are integrated with the text, and while all of these form a pleasant and desirable supplement, it is finally the text itself by which a history must stand or fall. Such being the case, the R. C. A. deserves

Gateway City: Documents on the City of Winnipeg 1873-1913

Edited and Introduced by
Alan F. J. Artibise, Ph.D.

Volume V, 1980

This volume is a Limited Edition in the continuing series published by

The Manitoba Record Society

General Editor: A. B. McKillop, Ph.D.

$16.00

Membership in the Society assures your receipt of forthcoming volumes in this Limited Edition series. Write today for information on membership, Volume V, back volumes and future publications.

The Manitoba Record Society
500 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, Canada R3T 2M8

a better documented account of its first hundred years than Ms Sisler's book, which seems only an elaborate sketch rather than a finished work.

David Rozniatowski is the librarian at the Winnipeg Art Gallery.

CANOE ROUTES OF ONTARIO

Text by John Bemrose; edited by Cathleen Hoskins. Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1981. 110 pp., illus. $9.95 paper.

Reviewed by
H. Douglas McLaughlin

This is a 'dream' book, of course. Canoeists, particularly in the off season, are dreamers, so any book that carries the title 'Canoe Routes of . . .' becomes a candidate for purchase.

Books such as this are the vital first link in the planning stages of a canoeing enthusiast's vacation, and there is a proper sequence to their digestion and use. First, the fast leaf-through, in which titles and area maps are noted, followed by a more leisurely examination. Then out of the corner of the mind, the canoeist begins to detect an attraction to two or three of those titles. A week goes by and that attraction solidifies into the beginning of an obsession, centred around one very special route. At least, it sounds good on paper: challenging but not lethal; within reach but not pedestrian.

The following Monday the canoeist tours local outdoor shops, searching through the map displays. Enquiries are made but, as often as not, the only person actually known to have done that particular trip now lives in Baker Lake or else did an undetermined portion of the route in a Grumman 17 Standard canoe and the remainder in a Bell Jet Ranger helicopter.

That's all right too, for the desire to anticipate every rapid, portage and campsite is tempered by the need to retain some of the spirit of the explorer and the pioneer on this special trip, to preserve at least the illusion of being the first.

The commitment is made long before it is understood: maps are purchased, more questions asked, more research is done. But that crucial first step, that seed of an idea, was planted by the book on canoe routes.

Canoe Routes of Ontario is a whole volume of those seeds and they are seeds from the finest stock, for Ontario contains an enormous expanse of the best canoeing country in the world.

Of the book itself, one would be hard pressed to suggest anything of significance that has been omitted. While there is no pretence to being anything other than what it claims — a compendium of general information on canoe routes — this book does contain interesting and very relevant sections on the general geography of different areas of the province, notes on the flora, fauna, geology and just enough hints at the history of some of the districts to whet the appetite. In addition, there are several well-made points about canoe-tripping safety and low-impact camping.

The book ends with an invaluable list of sources of detailed information on routes, maps and related matters of preparation, plus a bibliography of books and films that will be of value to the paddler. Scattered throughout are a score or so of photographs, both historical and contemporary, which are perhaps as much for decoration as for illustration. One other feature is a general outline map, in such a scale as to make it useful only as a wall hanging, which traces each canoe route and, significantly, the highways and railways that provide access to them.

However, the foregoing is ancillary to the main body of the volume which is, of course, the description of the canoe routes themselves. Each of them — and there are 107 routes and 18 canoe areas — is broken down by type of paddling, length in distance and days, degree of difficulty, number of portages, bodies of water encountered and access points. Then follows a general description of the trip, sprinkled with relevant cautions and, finally, sources of further information.

On balance, *Canoe Routes of Ontario* delivers exactly what it promises — just enough information to help the average canoeing enthusiast make practical initial route decisions — and more than enough to set him or her to dreaming.

Mr McLaughlin, a long-time canoeist, is owner and operator of The Happy Outdoorsman Ltd. in Winnipeg, an outdoor shop that specializes in supplying canoeists.

Shadow of the Hunter
Richard K. Nelson

Vivid stories derived from Nelson's experiences in an Eskimo village. 'Shadow of the Hunter compels our interest with continuing suspense and rich detail. Richard K. Nelson is an artist with words.'
Books in Canada

'Probably the best work available on the subject of traditional Eskimo life . . . each chapter is a well-written and spellbinding adventure story.'
St Catharines Standard

$15.00

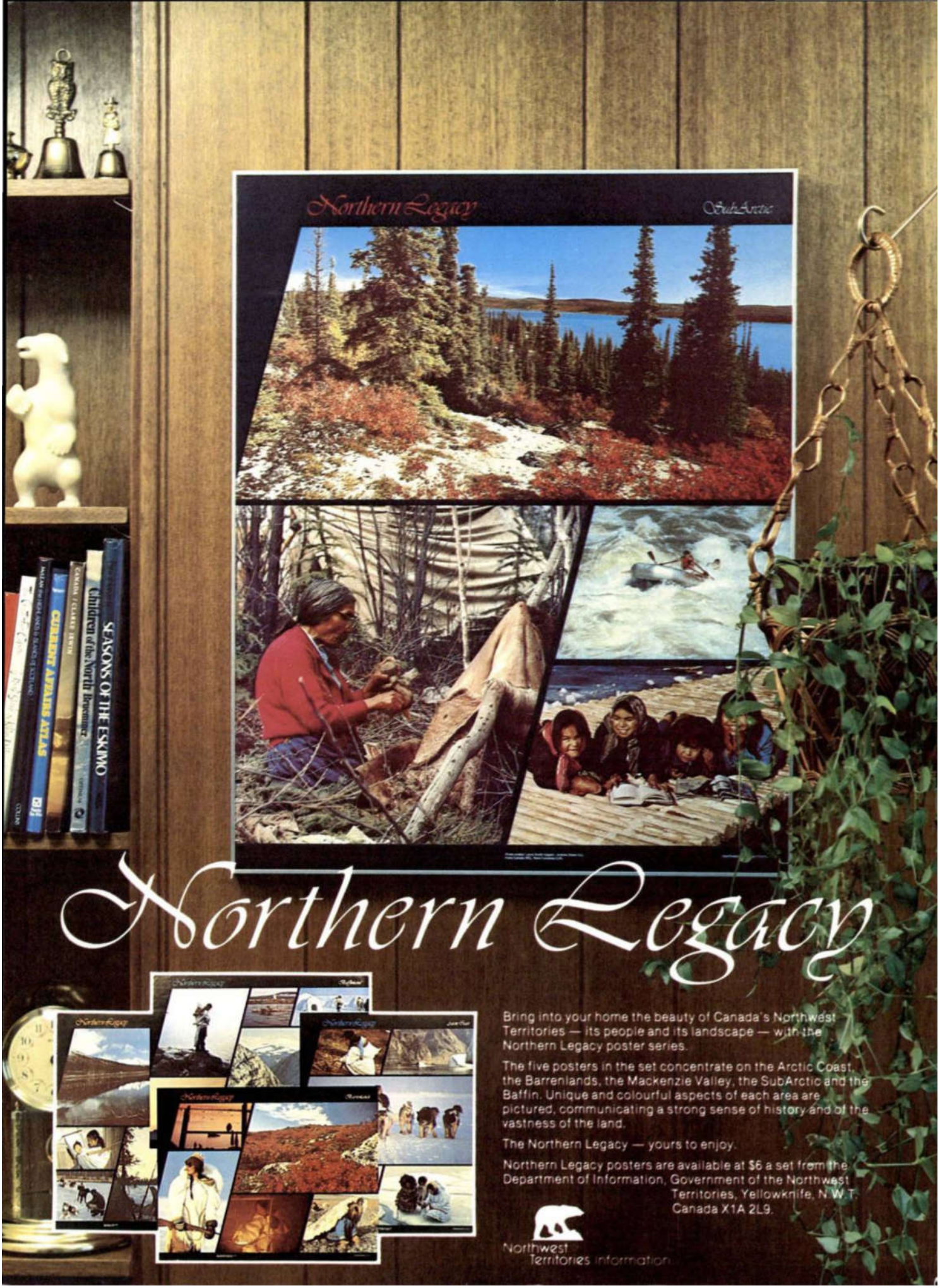
University of Toronto Press

Out-of-Print
Canadian Books, Pamphlets and Periodicals

History
Literature
Biography
Exploration
Art etc.

Catalogues Free on Request

Huronia-Canadiana Books
(Helen & John Wray)
705-435-7255
Box 685, Alliston, Ontario L0M 1A0



Northern Legacy

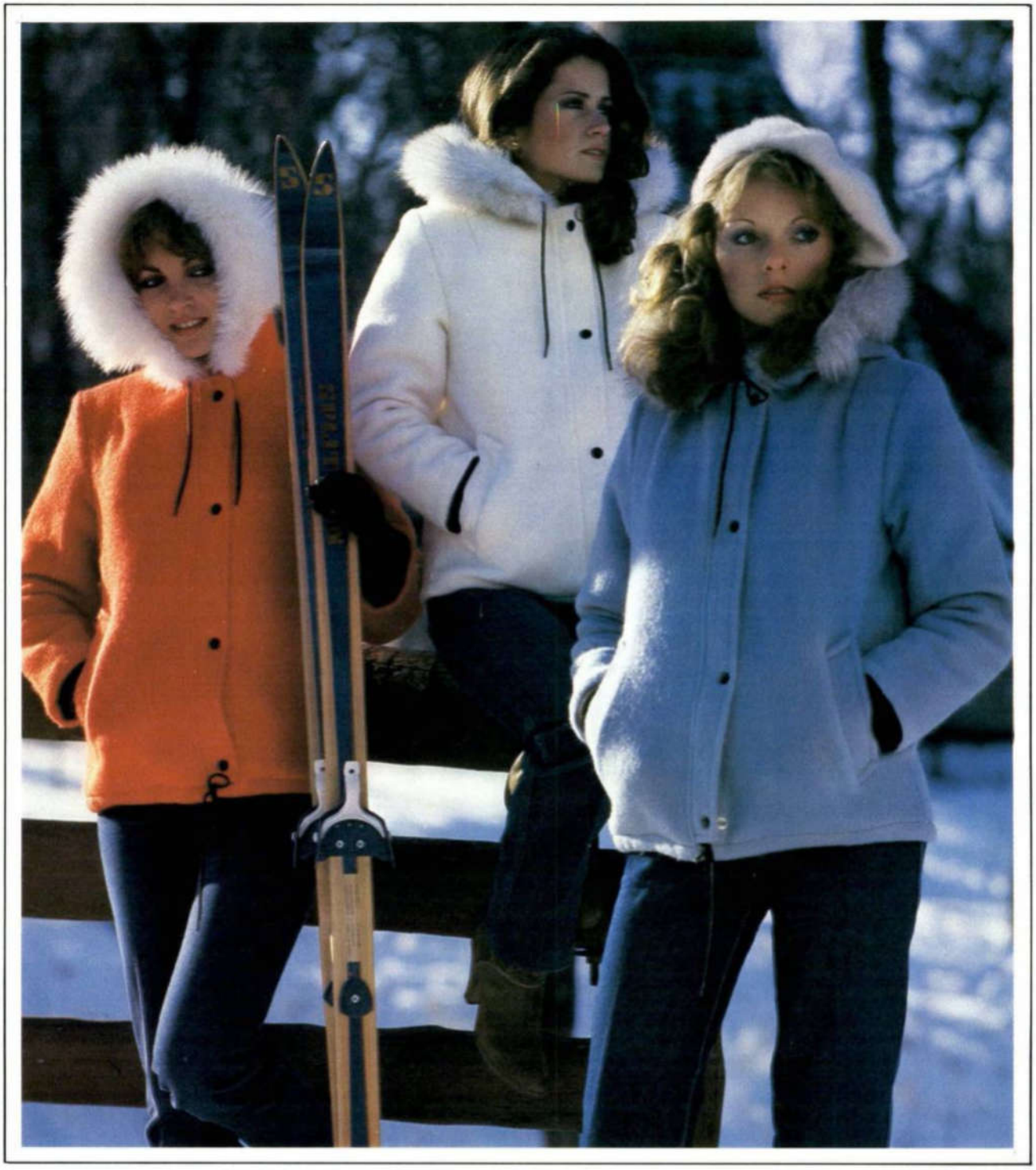
Bring into your home the beauty of Canada's Northwest Territories — its people and its landscape — with the Northern Legacy poster series.

The five posters in the set concentrate on the Arctic Coast, the Barrenlands, the Mackenzie Valley, the SubArctic and the Baffin. Unique and colourful aspects of each area are pictured, communicating a strong sense of history and of the vastness of the land.

The Northern Legacy — yours to enjoy.

Northern Legacy posters are available at $6 a set from the Department of Information, Government of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife, N.W.T. Canada X1A 2L9.

Northwest Territories Information



The slope jacket...an exclusive from the Bay!

Our sporty little slope jacket is made from genuine Hudson's Bay wool duffel cloth...warm on its own...even warmer when lined with nylon quilted to polyester fiberfill! To keep the chill winds out, it has a fur-trimmed drawstring hood, a snap flange over the front zipper, inner storm cuffs and a snug drawstring hem. Dry-clean only. Choose from scarlet, white or baby blue. Misses' sizes 6 to 18. **HB131**

Available at the Bay coast to coast, and other select stores

Hudson's Bay Company

Treasure Island Rum.

A light, white, mellow tasting rum blended from imported Caribbean rums.
Backed by over 300 years' distilling experience. At a price you'll treasure.

Hudson's Bay Vodka.

A very pure vodka, triple filtered for a unique, crystal sparkling taste.
Backed by over 300 years' distilling experience and priced so you don't have to be a czar to enjoy it.

Hudson's Bay Special Whisky.

Light in body, specially smooth in flavour, Special is a blend of select whiskies aged in white oak charred barrels for no less than five years. But it's priced like a three-year-old whisky.

Hudson's Bay Distillers

After three centuries, Canadians are still discovering Hudson's Bay.